DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 369 536 PS 022 288

AUTHOR	Johnston, Janet R., Ed.
TITLE	Violence and Hate in the Family and Neighborhood: New Perspectives, Policy and Programs.
INSTITUTION	Center for the Family in Transition, Corte Madera, CA.
SPONS AGENCY	Zellerbach Family Fund, San Francisco, Calif.
PUB DATE	92
NOTE	422p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC17 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Battered Women; Child Abuse; Cohabitation; *Family (Sociological Unit); *Family Violence; Marital Instability; *Neighborhoods; Rape; Sexual Abuse; Victims of Crime; *Violence
IDENTIFIERS	Date Rape; Dating Violence; Gangs; Hate Crime; Intergenerational Transmission; Marital Rape

ABSTRACT

There is accumulating research in diverse areas about the social conditions that are likely to promote violent environments, and the effects of these environments upon the development of children and youth. This series of papers on violence and hate traces abusive relationships through childhood and into adulthood, suggesting how these relationships might be linked and highlighting the intergenerational legacy of violence. Each paper deals with definitional issues, incidence rates and the problems of collecting valid estimates, research findings about associated factors and effects on victims, and current theories that explain each type of violence. Also discussed are overall approaches to intervention and specific programs that can be implemented. The seven papers are: (1) "Violence and Hate in the Family and Neighborhood: An Overview" (Kristan Glasgow and others); (2) "The Physical and Sexual Abuse of Children" (Jeanne Barr and others); (3) "Gangs and Their Violence" (Diana Chuang and others); (4) "Toward an Understanding of Hate Crimes" (Cory Booker and others); (5) "Intimacy and Sexual Violence: Date Rape and Marital Rape" (Howard Chow); (6) "Intimacy and Violence: Abuse in Marriage, Dating, and Cohabitation" (Linh Cao); and (7) "The Intergenerational Legacy of Family Violence: A Critical Review and Reformulation." References are included with chapters 2-7. (TJQ)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 369 536

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Janet R.
Johnston
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

PS 022288

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DRAFT: COMMENTS WELCOME

VIOLENCE AND HATE IN THE FAMILY AND NEIGHBORHOOD: NEW PERSPECTIVES, POLICY, AND PROGRAMS

Edited by

Janet R. Johnston, Ph.D.

Copyright © 1992

Center for the Family in Transition
5725 Paradise Drive, Bldg. B, Suite 300
Corte Madera, CA 94925
(415) 924-5750

Violence and Hate in the Family and Neighborhood: New Perspectives, Policy, and Programs

Edited by Janet R. Johnston, Ph.D.

Table of Contents

Preface

Chapter 1 Violence and Hate in the Family and Neighborhood: An Overview
Kristan Glasgow
Kristin Hansen
Janet R. Johnston

Chapter 2 The Physical and Sexual Abuse of Children
Jeanne Barr
Kristan Glasgow
Kristin Hansen

Chapter 3 Gangs and Their Violence
Diana Chuang
Jorge Elizondo
Lawrence Hernandez
Erinn Lopez

Chapter 4 Toward an Understanding of Hate Crimes
Cory A. Booker
John F. Damrose
Jim J. Hinckley

Chapter 5 Intimacy and Sexual Violence: Date Rape and Marital Rape
Howard Chow
Kasi Allen Fuller
Rebekah Saul
Susan Slater

Chapter 6 Intimacy and Violence: Abuse in Marriage, Dating, and Cohabiting
Linh Cao
Julie Kwon
Prudence Lam

Chapter 7 The Intergenerational Legacy of Family Violence: A Critical Review and Reformulation
Janet R. Johnston

Preface

This work was inspired by a provocative invitation from Ed Nathan, Executive Director of the Zellerbach Family Fund. For more than a decade, we had received support from this foundation to develop clinical programs for high-conflict and violent divorcing families. Now, Ed challenged us to think beyond the confines of psychological interventions with individuals and families, and to look at "the big picture" -- to try to understand modern families in the context of other social institutions and the community at large. He pointed out the growing concern with violence and hate in our society and wondered how its various manifestations were related. Was it possible to take a larger perspective and develop some guiding principles for social policy and programs?

There is accumulating research in diverse areas (sociological, psychological, political, and economic) about what social conditions are likely to promote violent environments and their effects upon the development of children and youths. At the Department of Sociology, Stanford University, where I lead seminars that are a part of a NIMH training grant, 18 especially selected, advanced undergraduate, masters, and doctoral students joined me in the quest to collect the fragments of the puzzle and try to put together an overall picture.

The students' diverse backgrounds in sociology, psychology, political science, education, and journalism matched their ethnic diversity: African-American, Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Hispanic, Filipino, and European-American. Most spoke at least two languages. Altogether, they were a spirited, serious-minded group of young men and women, inspired by their own personal experiences or their concern for others, and extremely eager to contribute in a meaningful way. The catastrophic Los Angeles riots erupted while we were in the midst of this project, which added greatly to our sense of urgency. Among the Stanford community, as elsewhere, tremendous concerns were being raised about inner-city problems, race relations, disrupted families, and related violence.

The topic of violence and hate was divided into five parts, which form five chapters: child abuse and sexual molestation; gang violence; hate crimes; date and marital rape; and violence in dating, cohabiting, and marital relationships. They trace abusive relationships through childhood and into adulthood, suggesting how these might be linked and highlighting the intergenerational legacy of violence (a sixth chapter). Each paper deals with definitional issues, incidence rates and the problems of collecting valid estimates, research findings about associated factors and effects on victims, and current theories which explain each type of violence. Each paper also tries to address overall approaches to intervention and suggests specific programs that can be implemented. We recognize, however, that there is a great deal more to be done in this regard.

The overall goal of this series of papers, collectively entitled Violence and Hate in the Family and Neighborhood: New Perspectives, Policy, and Programs, was to form a social science basis for a position paper (the opening chapter of this volume), which could be of use to social policy planners, lawmakers, mental health professionals, funding agencies, and the concerned community.

Funding for the project was provided by a grant from the Zellerbach Family Fund. In addition, the NIMH training grant entitled "Social Processes and Pathological Outcomes," awarded to the Department of Sociology at Stanford University, provided the seminar forum in which these papers were developed. We are heavily indebted to the editorial assistance of Barbara Lehman in preparing the final draft of this volume.

Janet R. Johnston, Ph.D.
Center for the Family in Transition, Corte Madera, and
Stanford University, Palo Alto, California
September, 1992

DRAFT VERSION ONLY:

COMMENTS WELCOMED

Chapter 1

VIOLENCE AND HATE IN THE FAMILY AND NEIGHBORHOOD: AN OVERVIEW

Kristan Glasgow
Kristin Hansen
Janet R. Johnston, Ph.D.

The Problem

The proliferation of failed personal relationships in our modern society is causing a relentless flood of hate and violence which threatens to tear apart our families and communities. Domestic violence is epidemic and includes child abuse, spousal abuse, incest, marital and date rape. Neighborhood violence ranges from intimidation and physical force among young children at school and at play to gang violence and random spontaneous crimes among disaffected adolescents and young adults. At the societal level, hate crimes are proliferating against those who are "outsiders" in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation.

Although there has been increased attention given to these problems in recent years, our efforts to find solutions have remained fragmented. There is a pressing need to draw together the findings of social scientists and the experience of clinical practitioners, in order to fully understand the fundamental social and psychological processes that result in what is now generally acknowledged to be an intolerable level of violence in American society. We must develop an overarching social policy to guide the development of programs and institutional practices aimed at the prevention and remediation of these pressing concerns. To do this we must pinpoint the activating forces and conditions that provoke and maintain interpersonal hatred and violence.

Incidence

It is estimated that at least one and a half million women are battered by their domestic partners each year. Between ten and fourteen percent of married women acknowledge being sexually assaulted by their husbands. Almost one in five children (more than four million) in the United States each year are exposed to the sight of their parents physically attacking and injuring each other. Approximately one half of these children will themselves be physically abused by the very people responsible for their care. One in six preteen girls, and one in fifteen preteen boys are sexually molested by family members or friends. One out of every five women experience date rape, or an attempted rape, by the age of eighteen.

Cities such as Oakland, Los Angeles, Miami, and Chicago have reported alarming increases in gang-related violent felonies and homicides. Over 90% of the victims of gang violence are young African Americans and Latinos, and almost all are male. Ten to twenty percent of these homicides are witnessed by neighborhood children, most of whom will have had a first-hand experience with a shooting by the age of five. An average of twenty percent of our nation's youth, between the ages of twelve and nineteen, report the presence of gang activity in their schools. Reports of violent hate crimes committed against ethnic minorities, women, religious groups, and homosexuals increase daily as these crimes become more widely recognized and acknowledged.

Even these startling rates of violence are generally considered to underestimate the actual levels of hate and violence taking place in our communities. The fact that much violence is perpetrated within everyday contexts (homes, schools, and neighborhood streets) often disguises its criminality and contributes to its underreporting. When committed by family members or acquaintances, incidents of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse are commonly discounted or mistakenly rationalized as somehow legitimate. When victims are repeatedly abused, their feelings of fear, helplessness, and confusion reduce the likelihood that they will seek protection and justice.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Most abusive acts take place in hidden settings--behind closed doors or in the shadows of late night streets--where they remain shielded from public scrutiny and intervention. Increasingly, however, in poor urban areas, blatant acts of violence (drive-by shootings and hate crimes) occur in broad daylight, before witnesses who are too afraid to intervene or report these crimes.

Family Disruption and Violence

The extent of violence and abuse that is perpetrated within families and neighborhoods is multidetermined by a series of converging influences. Unprecedented levels of family disruption have occurred within the past several decades. Our communities and social institutions have failed to adapt to the changing needs of modern families. Widespread sociocultural attitudes legitimize and promote indifference towards the exercise of physical force, exploitation, and abuse against those who are most vulnerable and powerless--women, children, and cultural minorities.

Family life has been fundamentally and permanently transformed by growing rates of immigration, urbanization, industrialization, and technological advances. Families today contend with constrained economic opportunities and resources that often require both parents to work. Many youngsters are "latch key" children and, on the average, working parents spend just ten minutes of uninterrupted, quality time with their children each day. Newly immigrated families find themselves isolated from extended kin, social supports, and their cultural heritage.

Divorce rates in the United States lead the world in an alarming upward trend, having doubled between 1960 and 1980 and remaining at this elevated rate. Currently, one half of all marriages in this nation are expected to fail, adversely affecting over one million children annually. One in three divorced couples will remain conflictual and hate-ridden for long years after the breakup, often targeting the children as the focus of their bitter arguments. Twenty-five percent of all children are now born into unmarried, single-parent households or serial cohabiting relationships. A similar percentage of children are members of remarried families, which suffer an even higher likelihood of divorce than do first marriages. The cumulative impact of this domestic upheaval has produced unstable, dysfunctional, and violent family relations.

Community Apathy and the Legitimization of Violence

In many neighborhoods, especially economically impoverished urban areas, traditional community supports (e.g. schools, churches, sporting, cultural, and recreation centers) lack the funding, personnel, and facilities needed to protect children and youth against the fallout from their disintegrating families. By and large, local governments, private businesses, public corporations, and granting foundations, all of whom direct the flow of resources through the community, take the stance that such distressed families and children fall outside of their particular domains of responsibility.

The apathy of our social institutions towards the effects of family disruption, especially upon children, is anchored to a sociocultural backdrop of legitimized violence, hate, racism, and sexism. We need not look much beyond our own doorsteps to witness daily examples of social victimization. The unthinking acceptance of popular assumptions--that spousal abuse "is a private squabble," that corporal punishment is "necessary discipline," that women "ask to be raped," that homosexuality is "against the natural order," that marriage licenses "entitle" men to force sexual contact with their wives, that minority youth in poor neighborhoods are always "gang members" and "probably delinquent" --illustrates the mechanisms by which tolerance for violence has been insidiously woven into the fabric of our social expectations and hence legitimized. The fact that the average child, while growing up, views thousands of murders and countless brutalities in films and on television both reflects and contributes to society's carelessness about interpersonal abuse.

This widespread acceptance of violence and hate has blunted our sensibilities to their hurtful consequences. Psychologically, indifference and detachment are expectable defenses built up by individuals, especially children, who have everyday acquaintance with traumatic scenes of abuse (like beatings or drive-by shootings) or who experience unmoderated suffering and deprivation (as with parental separation and loss due to death, divorce, and poverty). Possibly the highest cost of physical and emotional violence, then, are the psychological defenses that are erected against it. Indifference and detachment may protect against emotional pain but rob the traumatized individual of the human capacity to feel, to have compassion, to be morally outraged, and to take effective action.

As a consequence of these multidetermined influences, a series of failed interpersonal relationships are now being generated in our families and communities, which can be traced across the lifespan of children and into adulthood, resulting in a wide range of social violence.

Domestic Violence and Its Effects on Children

When families contend with high levels of stress, economic difficulties, marital discord, and social isolation, their natural cohesion breaks down. The propensity for domestic violence is compounded when parents have, themselves, been abused, deprived, or witnessed coercion and aggression in their own families of origin. Burdened with their own problems and unmet needs, these parents have insufficient time and energy to actively tend to their children's needs. Frequently, the children are helpless witnesses, or they may awkwardly try to intervene, as a parent (usually the mother) or a sibling is abused. As tempers flare in these circumstances, the intervening child may be physically beaten and emotionally degraded. Within such highly stressed environments, abusive acts are not usually imbued with malicious intent. Rather, these acts often represent the desperate attempts of beleaguered men and women to restore feelings of control and efficacy in overwhelming situations.

For families like these, one of the most effective preventive mechanisms is a dependable social support system. During periods of distress, the presence of sympathetic others can enhance parental efficacy by providing much needed empathic understanding and practical assistance. Supportive guidance also improves parents' control over their impulses by helping them to develop their capacity for critical distance and self-reflection. Concerned community members may be able to suggest or model alternative, more flexible strategies to resolve marital conflicts and to manage children.

Tragically, abuse of a child often begins during infancy. When adults experience severe domestic conflict and violence, they are typically inconsistently available, emotionally explosive, or paralyzingly depressed.

Babies born into such volatile environments tend to respond with a rapid decrease in overall functioning. Deprived of safe and responsive surroundings, these infants become more temperamental, difficult to manage, and incapable of being soothed, resulting in abuse by the caretaking parent. Maltreated infants are unlikely to become securely attached to their caretakers; rather, they avoid attachments or they are anxious and ambivalent in response to their parents.

Negative expectations of their primary caregivers lead infants to construct "internal working models" of relationships as unpredictable, hostile, and frightening. It is now known that, without alternative loving caretakers or other intervention, these internal models can remain fixed, profoundly impacting children's interpersonal relationships both inside and outside of the home and even accompanying them into adulthood.

Much of the severe marital conflict, domestic abuse, and divorce experienced by children occurs while they are still toddlers or preschoolers; half of such children are under five years of age at the parental separation. Family disruption during the critical formative stages of psychological development jeopardizes a child's capacity to develop basic trust, to separate and individuate from primary caretakers, to integrate good and bad images of self and others into a realistic human perspective, and to form an appropriate gender identity. Without healthy development in each of these domains, a child is poorly prepared to form rewarding relationships in the world.

To effectively foster their children's emotional, social, and intellectual development during preschool and elementary school years, caretakers must sustain environments that are warm and supportive, yet regulated. In well-functioning families, a child's sense of morality is reinforced by the manner in which daily sibling squabbles and expectable marital and parent-child conflicts are handled and resolved. The ritual of calling upon family members to account for their everyday errors of omission and commission is a process by which feelings and perspectives are explored and differentially legitimated. Familiar arguments about what is "fair" and "unfair," who is "right" and who is "wrong," help the child reason about what is a predictable and moral world. Out of these encounters, rules of conduct and the treatment of others are clarified.

In families frustrated by unresolved hatred, repetitive conflict, and episodic violence, this normative process is often derailed. Parents may lack the ability to take time to reason with the child and help the child consider others' feelings and perspectives. Instead, the parenting in these families is generally characterized by caprice, intrusiveness, coercion, and inflexible, punitive disciplinary strategies. Consequently, the moral imperatives that guide the child's perceptions and conduct become riddled with inconsistencies.

A child's emerging sense of morality is further affected by the manner in which parents react to specific incidents of domestic abuse. Many times, parents do not discuss the event, or give vastly contradictory interpretations of what happened. They may blame one another, refuse to accept responsibility, defensively distort the facts, or deny that the episode of violence even took place. Such subterfuges are likely to limit the child's emerging capacity for reality testing, sense of predictability and safety about relationships, and the ability to discriminate between right and wrong.

It should not surprise us, then, to learn that volatile family relations are likely to induce and perpetuate a range of symptomatic behaviors in children who are directly or indirectly subject to their influence. These symptoms include behavioral difficulties, such as aggression, conduct problems, impulsiveness, and distractibility, all of which make the child less able to develop the self control and direction necessary for learning and achievement. Compounding these are the emotional difficulties of anxiety, hypervigilance, constriction, and withdrawal that limit the child's capacity to experience pleasure and exploration that can sustain their emotional growth.

Children who have been directly abused are, in addition, likely to suffer depression, low self-esteem, and helplessness that can become a pervasive and debilitating stance. Moreover, sexually molested children may manifest highly sexualized behaviors such as explicit sexual talk, public masturbation, and sex play with objects and peers that can foreshadow longstanding difficulties with sexual relationships in adulthood.

Studies of resilient children, those that survive adverse family environments without impairment or even develop into especially empathic, responsible, and caring adults can provide clues to effective prevention. Some children are resilient without intervention because they have the inner resources to cope and find ways to get their needs met elsewhere. Desirable attributes of intelligence, attractiveness, and adaptability to new environments augment the chances that youngsters will make friends and succeed in school. Even lacking such characteristics, children can still escape the negative sequelae of family violence if they establish important supportive, nurturing relationships with others outside the home (e.g. daycare workers, teachers, coaches, extended family members, and peers). Children who have regained their self-esteem and self-efficacy, and take pleasure in their own accomplishments (academic achievements, sports, art, music, gainful employment) also fare better. Often, a safe environment outside the home--at school, at work, at play--may represent the only haven for children of high-conflict and violent families. Such supportive environments can provide critical opportunities to remedy the damage done to the child's sense of a fair, just, and humane world.

Domestic Violence and Peer Relationships

During middle and late elementary school years, the ability of children to get along with peers, to treat others morally and humanely, is fundamentally predicated upon being able to read others' emotional states and to take their points of view. Children of domestic violence are often impaired in the ability to do this; they are either emotionally constricted or emotionally volatile, numbed to their own feelings and those of others, or impulsive and reactive. It is understandable, then, that the shadow of family violence is likely to follow children onto the playground. Behavior that alienates children from their peers, whether through aggression or withdrawal, increases the likelihood that these children will, in turn, be socially rebuffed, either actively rejected or simply ignored. Specifically, playgrounds tend to become battle grounds from the perspective of an abused child, who commonly and mistakenly interprets others' overtures as hostile and threatening. When conflicts do arise, some children of domestic violence try to settle disputes by mirroring the forceful strategies used in the home; others passively withdraw and are easily victimized. Sadly, these coping patterns inhibit participation in innocent childhood fun. Rejection or avoidance by other children is likely to confirm feelings of loneliness, depression, and poor self-esteem.

Relationships with peers are especially important for healthy social, emotional, and moral development during late childhood and adolescence. Peer groups provide youths with new bases of companionship, identity, and self-esteem that are qualitatively different from those found in the home. By exchanging related personal experiences and feelings, teenage friends buffer one another against everyday stressful events. Importantly, through sharing information and feelings, peers exert a powerful influence in establishing young people's ways of thinking about and behaving in the world.

If the environments in which children grow up (i.e. homes, schools, churches, neighborhoods) have been caring, nurturing ones and have imparted a clear sense of moral responsibility, then, when they become adolescents, they are more able to resist peer influences and pressures that conflict with their fundamental value systems. If, however, the moral order is considerably weakened, and these young people feel rejected, unsupported, and emotionally detached, then they are more likely to succumb to negative influences and pressures. Too often the negative feelings generated by dysfunctional families and uncaring community relations lead to identification with, and participation in, peer cultures that perpetrate crimes of hate, gang violence, and acquaintance rape. When acting in a group, unsupervised and drifting adolescents take their cues from one another, and when deviant activities are suggested, they may be unable to assert their individual and opposing opinions. The ideology of the group, however ill-formed and vague, takes over. In the wake of an abusive act, personal responsibility is muted within the anonymity of the group, and violent behavior can be more easily rationalized.

Violence in the Neighborhood

Hate Crimes

It is quite common for peers to stereotype and "put down" people outside of their own crowd and by so doing bolster their own sense of importance and group cohesiveness. The phenomenon of "in-group favoritism" and "out-group denigration" leads group members to be less concerned with the welfare of outsiders.

When the deeply entrenched racial-ethnic schisms which divide our communities coincide with imbalances in the distribution of economic resources, denigration of out-groups can be exacerbated. Social institutions such as the family, school, and church are cultural "transmission belts," carrying the language and symbols of racism, sexism, and homophobia down through the generations, where they lodge just beneath the surface of ordinary social life. These historical-cultural biases may lie dormant until a particular set of circumstances or an incident sparks a violent and hateful act. For example, increase in the proportion of minority populations, economic recession, and increasing unemployment are circumstances that can combine to threaten the economic survival of vulnerable groups and trigger extreme resentment, even hatred.

Furthermore, when communities are socially and geographically segregated along racial-ethnic lines, different groups are prevented from knowing one another. As a result, individuals more readily objectify and dehumanize those who are externally different. Reducing people to negative stereotypes and labels (e.g. "nigger," "faggot," "gringo," "chink") on the basis of external attributes (of race, gender) allows them to be perceived as threatening and evil--the "faceless enemy"--and permits violence towards them with impunity. Crimes of hate range in intensity from verbal assaults to property damage to actual physical injury. In any form, hate crimes contribute to a climate of fear and oppression and deny victims their civil rights as Americans and their fundamental rights as human beings.

Gangs and Gang Violence

Gang activity has become prevalent in our nation's inner-cities and is increasing in stagnant rural towns, within neighborhoods suffering depleted economic resources, high unemployment, cramped housing, family disintegration, drug trafficking, and violent crimes. The larger societal problems of racial, ethnic, gender, and socioeconomic discrimination and antagonism further intensify the bleak outlook for ethnic minority youth, making them the most likely candidates for counterculture gang lifestyles. With scant hope of finding a place in the larger world, it is not surprising that youths raised in these environments find their only secure niche within gangs, many of which actively promote violence and crime as a way of life.

Inequality of opportunity has long been recognized as one of the fundamental social-structural conditions that results in subcultures of gang activity involving drug dealing, burglary, vandalism, assault, and homicide. In the larger society, a number of culturally valued goals transcend class lines: wealth, material possessions, status, security, and protection from physical harm are widely promoted as being desirable ends and available to all citizens. Despite our egalitarian ideology upholding and promoting these cultural ideals, opportunities to acquire them by socially acceptable means are not easily attainable by all social classes, especially ethnic minorities.

Inadequate urban educational systems resulting in academic underachievement and high drop-out rates, coupled with scarce employment opportunities and discriminatory employment practices, continue to plague our more disadvantaged neighborhoods. In the absence of socially approved means (i.e. education and gainful employment), alternative avenues to success are sought. For those who are thus sidetracked, the gang becomes the medium for prescribing and transmitting a different ideology and technology, one in which physical force, intimidation, and terrorizing violence are seen as the most efficient and expedient mechanisms. In effect, for many disadvantaged youths, gangs still remain the only social institution that provides a viable means of achieving respect, the material goods that represent status, the possibility of economic solvency, and a semblance of physical protection.[1]

There are also basic psychological needs quite apart from socioeconomic conditions that can motivate gang involvement. Youths who participate in gangs are often actively seeking to compensate for the lack of stability, protection, emotional and economic support within their own family.[2] Although it is common and natural for peer groups to form among adolescents with similar

---

[1] As one gang member explained, "When people ask me why I joined a gang, I just trip. They act as if it was a choice. Like I just said, Hmmm -- I think I'll join a gang today. But that ain't even it. It's like I had to do it. If I ever wanted to have anything, or be respected, I had to join a gang....Its about respect....By people being scared of me, I get that respect..."

[2] As one gang member said, "I think a lot of people, like me, join gangs because they have family problems. It ain't cool at home, so you get out. Then you get out there, you see a lot of people with the same problems you have. So you hook up with them and make your own family. It's like a substitute family. You got brothers who look out for each other. A lot of brothers....You got someone lookin' out for you which might be more than your 'real' family did. At least now you have a real chance at survivin'."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

backgrounds and life experiences, for youths in well-functioning environments, these groups do not have the implicit purpose of subsuming the role of the family. Children from violent and dysfunctional origins--who often lack role models and personal support--may have a strong need to "find a family" that is cohesive, powerful, and respected. Unfortunately, the power and status of this surrogate family is often gained through territorial warfare. Loyalty and dedication to the gang family is often demonstrated through terrorizing acts of retaliation and homicide should a gang brother or sister be hurt or killed. Most disturbing, easy access to high-tech weapons now makes for unprecedented lethal capabilities in the escalating violence of gang activities. The intense excitement and challenge of these deadly games may help mitigate the anxiety and emptiness that is a consequence of their own personal fear and pain.

Violence in Intimate Relationships

The social context and group dynamics that influence adolescents to perpetrate hate crimes and gang violence also permeate intimate relationships. Adolescents rely on their peers, families, or the media, to discover the social norms that regulate intimacy. The lessons often imparted through these references may contribute to miscommunication and exploitation in the dating setting. Dating violence and rape are increasingly recognized as a serious social problem between young men and women, one that can foreshadow violent dysfunctional cohabiting relationships and marriages where women are especially likely to be abused.

Adolescent boys find a significant amount of support for sexual aggression against women in their peer groups, both through direct advice and their perceptions of their friends' sexual experiences. Young men who perceive their peers to be sexually aggressive are more likely to express sexual aggression in their own relationships. The fusion of sex and aggression may be, in part, an unfortunate consequence of naive young adults' reliance upon stereotyped fantasies of intimate relationships. This is more likely to be true for teenagers and young adults from dysfunctional families, where intimacy is fraught with ambivalence and distrust and violent sex is easily substituted for emotional closeness.

Traditionally, our society has characterized females as passive, submissive, and oriented towards pleasing others. American culture discourages women from asserting their own needs, in general, and from expressing their sexuality, in particular. Men, on the other hand, have been socialized to value aggressiveness, competition, and dominance both within and outside the home. Despite changing mores, young men are still generally expected to dominate heterosexual relationships and make decisions on behalf of their partners.

Stereotyped attitudes and myths--that some women enjoy sexual violence or that some women, by their dress or behavior, are "asking" to be raped--lead some young males to focus upon external dating "cues" to determine their partner's sexual intentions. Situational cues--who initiated, paid for, and drove on the date, the use of alcohol or drugs, how the young woman is dressed, her reputation, the location of the date--are used to infer unwarranted assumptions about the sexual encounter. These assumptions desensitize adolescent males to their partner's true feelings and desires. Thwarted expectations, coupled with ambiguity and ineffective communication, increase the likelihood of violence and date rape.

The effects of date rape are serious and long lasting. Adolescent females who have been raped by an acquaintance or "boyfriend" often become distrustful, viewing the world as threatening and unsafe, and their own judgement as faulty. The fears of most women who have been raped in these contexts revolve around men and sex, both of which may now evoke a sense of dread, anger, and distrust, rather than pleasure or joy. Many date rape survivors question whether they can ever be in a loving relationship with a man again.

Although most abuse in dating relationships occurs around sexual encounters, these same traditional cultural expectations for male control and female submission underlie physical abuse in marital and cohabiting relationships. In households stressed by external economic and work pressures, the vicissitudes of caring for young children, and social isolation, domestic tensions and conflicts can become intense. Where husbands and wives also have limited internal psychological capacities to modulate anger, to empathize with one another, and to resolve disputes mutually, they are likely to resort to power struggles, coercive tactics, and verbal and physical abuse. Marital rape may accompany or follow the abuse. In the arena of marital violence and rape, men usually dominate. The most serious consequences for women are a form of "learned helplessness," debilitating depression, and low self-worth (called the "battered women's syndrome"). These conditions of fear and helplessness prevent the battered woman from leaving the destructive relationship, and from protecting their children from being exposed to the violence. Sadly, battered wives and violent men are especially likely to directly abuse their children.

The Intergenerational Legacy of Violence and Hate

This paper has traced the life course of violent and abusive relationships from infancy to adulthood, suggesting that many threads (psychological, sociological, economic) interweave to produce the dark tapestry of our violent culture. From a developmental perspective, the long-term effects of violence extend far beyond children learning to be aggressive and abusive. As teenagers and young adults, children of violence are far more likely to suffer disabling emotional distress. They are also more likely to become victims of abuse later in the life course. There is, in addition, growing evidence that overt behavioral and emotional symptomatology can be suppressed in children during and after acute episodes of violence, emerging years later to cause serious problems in relationships with others as the child enters adolescence, or when the young person tries to form intimate relationships with the opposite sex as a young adult. Problems may also surface or resurface in adulthood when the individual who experienced family violence so long ago now faces the task of being a parent to his or her own child. It is at these later times that flawed blueprints (called "working models") for man-woman and parent-child relationships may resurface as the new generation constructs a basic plan by which to structure adult relationships.[3] These latent effects are especially likely to surface in the presence of stressful life events (e.g. interpersonal conflict, unemployment, financial hardship, illness) or in the absence of a protective community of supportive others.

---

[3] Ten-year-old Damion witnessed his drunken, jealous father batter his mother on several occasions. Each time the boy tried to throw himself between his parents to protect his mother, he himself was hit, which made him feel small, helpless, and ashamed. This boy grew up with a seething rage at his father and made the conscious promise to himself that he would become a stronger, morally superior man. At age seventeen, Damion fell in love for the first time and quickly became intensely possessive of his girlfriend. Then, she broke off the relationship. Feeling powerless and shamed by her rejection, Damion took a gun and threatened to kill her.

Regarding the ramifications of interpersonal violence and hate from this perspective, it seems clear that the very high levels of family disruption and domestic abuse during the past several decades, compounded by violence in the community, predict disturbances in relationships and increased violence of monumental proportions in upcoming generations. Furthermore, it suggests that prevention and remediation need to start now if we are to avoid serious damage, in a large number of children, to their capacity to form intimate, mutually gratifying, and moral relationships in adulthood.

Intervention Implications

Directions for Social Policy, Planning and Programs

Problems with Current Approaches

To date, interventions in family and community violence and hate have mainly focussed on symptoms rather than on root causes. In response to alarming headlines of child abuse, wife battering, gang violence, and hate crimes, laws are hastily enacted which mandate increased reporting and more punitive responses to perpetrators, with insufficient response to the deeply embedded social, psychological, and economic problems that motivate violence. This approach has lead to a rather simple dichotomy: the perception that the parties to violence are either victims or victimizers and that the first should be protected and the second punished. In all likelihood, the tragedy is that both those who hurt others and those who are hurt are products of failed personal relationships in the context of a wider community that is faltering in its task of guiding, nurturing, and protecting its members on several levels--economically, socially, and emotionally.

What help is available to those impacted by violence and hate in the family and neighborhood is often too little, too late, and too fragmented. For example, services are frequently limited in time and the understanding and skills of the providers are not adequate to the complexity of the problem. Restraining orders and police interventions do not protect many abused women and shelter services are offered for a brief time only, after a woman has been battered. Affordable therapy is available only after a child has been proven to have been sexually molested by a family member; it is often not provided at all for abused children and seldom even considered for those who have witnessed violence between their parents. The remedial educational and vocational training needs of a teenage gang member are considered only after he has entered the juvenile justice system. Home help and parenting support is rarely provided, and usually only for those parents who have already severely abused their children.

There is a great need for concerted efforts aimed at the prevention of violence in high-risk populations (e.g. persons who have been abused as children), at times and in situations when they are most vulnerable (e.g. when unemployed or lacking in social support), and when they are subjected to multiple stressors (e.g., in the case of single parents with low incomes and large families, and for ethnic minorities in poor, urban areas). When abuse has already occurred, treatment needs to be immediately available for it to be most effective. Those subjected to witnessing or experiencing repeated abuse will need sustained intervention to undo the damage that has been wrought.

To date, intervention efforts into family and community violence have been fragmented, not only by our piecemeal understanding of the problem, but by historical divisions between social agencies and interest groups who have organized in response to disturbing levels of particular kinds of abuse. For instance, despite having identical concerns with stopping and preventing family violence, as well as serving largely overlapping client populations, there exists a schism between programs and services for battered women and those for abused children, often based on divergent goals, perspectives, and strategies. Shelter-based programs for battered women are premised on a model of family violence in which the male is the perpetrator and the woman is the victim; they are typically concerned with issues of protection, support, and empowerment for their adult female clients. The presence of child abuse in these families, the needs of the child victims and child witnesses to family violence, and, indeed, treatment approaches for the entire family are seldom considered. Child welfare systems, on the other hand, focus on the needs of abused children. Their prevailing model of intervention stresses support, education, and monitoring of abusive parents and/or removal of the children from the home. Child protective service workers are often less sensitive to the overall climate of violence and dysfunctional relationships in the family, the needs of battered women, and the harm to children who witness sibling and spousal abuse.

Family violence and gang violence have been largely treated as separate problems, despite the fact that children with poor self-esteem and feelings of helplessness born of witnessing or experiencing domestic abuse are the ones most likely to seek their identity and sense of power in a violent gang.

Recently, gang violence and hate crimes have caused independent concern, despite the fact that violence in both cases is, in part, a product of a peer culture that breeds attitudes of ethnic-racial intolerance, gender discrimination, and cultural bigotry, especially in environments of poverty, where there are inequities in the distribution of resources and lack of job opportunities. Moreover, those individuals who have not learned to integrate the good and bad in self and others because of hatred and abuse in their family of origin, are more likely to turn racial and gender discrimination into crimes of hate, and their failed efforts to achieve social justice into demands for revenge.

In sum, the interconnectedness and multidetermined nature of violence and hate needs to be taken into account when considering prevention and remediation. A fragmented response is not only likely to be ineffective and wasteful of effort, it blocks our capacity to fully understand the problem and to deal properly with it.

Toward a New Approach

Rather than focussing efforts directly on the abusive acts in family relationships, and, in effect, holding these families accountable for stopping violence inside and outside the home and across generations, it is important to recognize that unprecedented social changes and the stressors inherent in many modern-day families render them inadequate to this task. Instead, the community must take the responsibility of equipping alternative child-rearing institutions (schools, daycare centers), people-nurturing institutions (churches and temples, sports, arts, and recreation centers), and law enforcement and protection institutions (police, courts, child protective and social services) to take up the slack and to support and strengthen family functioning by providing alternative or adjunct care, moral guidance, and social control. This means accepting the reality of the fragile and changing forms of the modern family, which are a consequence of high rates of divorce and remarriage, unmarried single parenthood, dual-career parents, and dislocation from extended family and ethnic origins via migration and the need for job mobility.

There needs to be a corresponding shift in function of other institutions within the community. Businesses, town planners, city governments, neighborhood associations, homeowners, and tenants groups must all agree to take greater responsibility for creating more humane, safer, and more hospitable environments in their communities where children, teenagers, and families can work and play. In inner-city urban areas suffering from high levels of poverty, unemployment, low socioeconomic status, inadequate schooling and vocational training, and minority ethnic status, this means that those institutions which provide the infrastructure of the community may need to be redesigned and rebuilt from scratch.

Hence, the general focus for prevention and intervention in what is now considered an intolerable level of violence in our society should be on building and strengthening social bonds between family and community institutions, and on developing a sense of shared responsibility, community concern, and on raising moral consciousness and the commitment to non-violent solutions to interpersonal conflict. In particular, there needs to be a concerted, programmatic effort to break down stereotypes that are the basis for prejudice, scapegoating, and social discrimination with regard to gender, race, religion, class, and sexual orientation. All of these stereotypes provide fertile grounds for wife and child abuse, dating and acquaintance rape, gang violence, and crimes of hate. Interventions need to be targeted at those who are apathetic to the exercise of violence, especially public and private institutions, including the media, that indirectly legitimize the use of violence towards those members of society who are powerless or simply different (e.g. women, children, youths, homosexuals, the elderly, and ethnic-racial minorities).

Most broadly, the task is to build a new sense of community that will nurture and guide the growing child and the emancipating teenager, and, by doing so, support the integrity of the family. Whereas the old, traditional sense of neighborhood conjures up images of individuals and families living in close geographical proximity, well known to one another, sharing interests and having a common fate, in actuality in both urban and suburban areas in our modern technological society this old sense of neighborhood is becoming a relatively rare phenomenon. Heterogeneity in ages and stages of family development, differing personal interests and ideologies, ethnic diversity, and the fact that it is often necessary for wage earners to commute a considerable distance for employment each day as well as to shopping centers and recreational pursuits at evenings and weekends. All of this serves to fragment the community and lessen the possibility of building neighborhoods based on geographical proximity.

In the place of traditional neighborhoods we have the potential for establishing networks of community relationships, unique to each family, that are defined by the members' work, school, recreational activities, religious, and other individual interests. Typically, families move through membership in different social networks depending upon the ages of their children, and the job opportunities or career trajectories of the wage earners. Basic services like day care, elementary schools, after-school care, sporting and recreational facilities become important potential links between family and community for families with younger children. A more loosely defined network can exist for adolescents, bounded by shopping malls, churches, sporting clubs, entertainment facilities, employers, high schools, and most particularly their informal groupings of peers.

It should not be assumed that we will always know a priori what the important social networks are likely to be. In some areas, the links will be forged by local industry and center around the workplace; in others, the new neighborhood relations will be established primarily through the churches, temples, and schools. Social relationships in some communities may be culturally based, a product of the extended family and friendship networks of particular social-ethnic groups. Furthermore, in some heterogeneous communities, multiple networks, based on different principles, may be nested within one another. The point is that a community-by-community diagnosis will be needed so that solutions will be unique to each community's strengths and needs.

Social policy and programs need to support families by strengthening existing links and establishing new liaisons with community institutions. The most efficient vehicles for change lie within the dynamics of each community and these must be used (not ignored or resisted) in the quest to prevent the failure of relationships that can precipitate acts of violence which demean and violate the integrity and liberty of all individuals.

Basic Principles in Intervention

In setting up specific programs for the prevention and remediation of family and neighborhood violence, several basic principles need to be kept in mind:

1. To the extent possible, new approaches and programs need to be built within existing agencies, and existing resources need to be coordinated rather than proliferating new and competing services.

2. Local communities need to be given the opportunity to formulate their own priorities, and culturally distinct people need to develop and run their own services.

3. Peers and mentors who have the same racial-ethnic-cultural origin, and those who share important life experiences, are the most effective service providers, change agents, and group leaders.

4. Group interventions are usually the most effective and cost-efficient method for changing social attitudes and for consolidating moral imperatives which prescribe how people should treat one another.[4]

5. Greater attitude and behavior changes are achieved through experiential learning rather than by didactic teaching (i.e., people learn best by doing).

6. There is no simple or single solution. We need multiple, focussed efforts that are responsive to the local environment, and especially designed for high-

---

[4] It is recognized that not all people are candidates for group interventions, and that there will always be a need for family and individual programs.

risk groups at strategic times. Primary prevention as well as secondary and tertiary interventions are needed.

The idea is to develop partnerships and linkages between the family and local social institutions and to build specific programs that are aimed at protecting children's moral and social development as well as remediating damage that has already been done by violence and hate. We need to become dedicated to rebuilding our social ecology, to making our communities more habitable for children and families, in the same manner that we as a nation have become committed to conserving and protecting the natural environment. The following guidelines suggest some starting points.

Child Abuse and Domestic Violence Prevention and Intervention

1. Establish working partnerships between families and the specific institutions responsible for working with children: child-care services, schools, churches, and community centers. Parents need to be able to meet face-to-face and routinely with concerned professionals and volunteers who work with their children, to share their concerns, and to communicate about their children's needs, in a warm, personal, supportive environment. These partnerships should include informative programs designed to increase parenting skills by teaching flexible problem-solving and coping strategies that help parents increase their ability to discipline and communicate with their children without resorting to corporal punishment. These programs should also be a forum in which parents can get information about appropriate developmental expectations for their children.

Special kinds of parenting education should be available, and in some situations made mandatory, for certain high-risk groups: teenage mothers, high-conflict divorcing parents, spouse abusers, parents with substance abuse problems, and parents who have already been identified as abusive to their children. Infant parenting practicums and extended follow-up consultations are especially important for young pregnant women who are at-risk for child abuse, to promote bonding and to prevent negative cycles of mother-infant interaction from becoming established early on.

Parenting support groups and services should be available to reach out to subpopulations made vulnerable by specific stressors: those who are socially isolated (e.g. recently migrated families, recently separated and divorced single parents), those who have limited economic and human resources (e.g. unemployed, homeless families), parents coping with chronic illness or disability in the family, or those having dysfunctional and violent marital relations (e.g. battered women.).

Volunteer in-home parent aids and respite care (daytime and overnight) should be available as a back-up service for those parents in critical need of practical assistance and relief in caring for their children.[5]

2. Make sure that schools and daycare centers, where children and youths spend a great deal of their time, are suited to the critical task of providing models of communal living and working, where young people are treated with warmth, caring, dignity, and respect, and where conflicts are resolved in moral and humane ways. This may require a great deal of structural reorganization in some of these institutions, as well as attitude changes on the part of

---

[5] There are currently only three in-home parent aid programs in all of the nine San Francisco Bay area counties.

administration and teaching staff who need to develop a wider concept of their role in supporting children's social and moral development.[6]

Conflict-resolution and anger management skills could be a part of all teachers' and child-care workers' training to help these adults promote such skills in the classroom and on the playground. Methods of communicating with children about getting along with peers and handling their responsibilities in work groups and teams should be adapted to suit the progressive levels of interpersonal understanding and emotional development typical of children of different ages.

Students need to be empowered by practical experiences in democratic living. They come to believe they can make a difference in matters of school policy and programs that concern them by learning how to articulate their ideas and needs, by respecting that other students may have different perspectives, by organizing in groups to represent common interests, and by negotiating in a responsible manner with school administrators. These experiences can increase their commitment to their schools and to the learning process itself.

Peer conflict-resolution and mediation programs that are appropriate to the local peer culture could be developed in elementary, junior high, and high schools. Children and youths need to be encouraged to use these methods whenever possible to work through their misunderstandings and hostilities and to resolve disputes among themselves.

Special peer groups or clubs, lead by young adult role models, could be fostered in schools, childcare, and recreational centers to repair the damaged self-esteem of youngsters and increase their capacity to form positive relationships. These groups would be targeted for children and teenagers at-risk for violent and abusive relationships by virtue of their having been abused or having witnessed abuse in the home, or because they have already been identified as having difficulties with their peers (e.g. being too aggressive or passive/withdrawn). It is suggested that these be experiential groups, with curriculums appropriate to their various developmental stages, giving these vulnerable children the opportunity to reenact, process, and work through school, neighborhood, and family conflicts within a warm, caring, supportive environment.

---

[6] Staffs will need adequate training, the protection of decent salaries, and symbolic rewards and recognition for service to assure high commitment and reduce the problem of turnover.

3. Build working partnerships between parents, schools, and religious institutions to prepare the content, context, and attitudes conveyed in classroom human sexuality curriculums. Sex education in schools has long been a controversial and sensitive issue, because the subject matter clearly crosses over into the domain of deeply held religious-cultural family values. The situation is now vastly complicated by the threat of AIDS, as sexuality is now linked to a fatal disease. In this matter, more than most others, strong community partnerships need to be established. It is important to recognize that unless these kinds of programs are thoughtfully developed, and presented in a compelling way to children and teenagers, they are likely to be ineffective, and in some cases even harmful.

Sexual abuse prevention programs for children should be an important part of the curriculum for every elementary school child with the aim being to increase children's knowledge about inappropriate contact and to teach them personal safety skills.[7] The rationale for this approach is our confirmed understanding that a child's capacity to resist or avoid an abusive episode is a key component in the prevention of sex abuse.

An important adjunct to programs designed directly for children would be a forum in which teachers, day-care workers, and parents could learn more about the child behaviors and symptoms that indicate sexual abuse may have occurred and how adults could provide a safe supportive environment that would allow a child to reveal what has happened in order to receive the protection and treatment he or she needs.

Older boys and girls need to have their consciousness raised about what constitutes date rape and its damaging effects. They need to learn to recognize gender stereotypes and the common misunderstandings and miscommunications between the sexes that allow date rape to occur. Girls need to be provided with self-protection and assertive skills to help them better recognize a potentially dangerous situation and to be able to defend themselves if necessary. Boys need more self-awareness and sensitivity training about cross-gender relationships. These programs could be developed as part of the curriculum on health and sex education in secondary schools.

Teenagers and older adult victims of date rape are usually in critical need of emotional support to enable them to report the crime and to help ameliorate the shame, guilt, anger, and distrust that shadows the incident. If parents, teachers, school administrators, and police are to respond appropriately, they need to acquire greater understanding about why this kind of abuse occurs and the negative consequences for its victims.

---

[7] California legislation (AB2443) has funded child assault prevention programs throughout the state.

4. Make community services and police and court systems more responsive to victims of domestic violence. Many victims of domestic violence go unprotected, and formidable bureaucratic and legal obstacles may prevent them from seeking protection and justice. The rights of the victim can be obscured when the rights of the alleged abuser and needs of the children are simultaneously considered, as they often are in the various (criminal, family, or juvenile) court systems. Oftentimes, victims are unaware of their legal rights, including police protection, and uninformed about the community services that can help. Logistical difficulties and language barriers may prevent them from being able to make use of advice that is given during the crisis of an acute incident of abuse. Too frequently the abuse continues unchecked because of inadequate legal and community response.

For these reasons, efforts should be made to coordinate services and provide an integrated community response to domestic violence. Domestic violence councils made up of relevant public and private agencies in the local community can be formed to gather systematic data, to coordinate policies and procedures for dealing with child and spousal abuse, to establish standards for treatment programs, and to develop new or existing services where needed. These councils would typically consist of police, district attorneys, public defenders, judges and other representatives from the criminal, family, and juvenile courts, medical personnel, shelters and services for battered women, treatment programs for batterers, and child protective agencies. These councils are probably most effective if they receive their mandate from local city and county governments.

Services for victims of marital violence should be expanded to include a more comprehensive child and family-focussed approach to the problem of domestic violence. It is important for shelters to continue to protect and support women fleeing from a violent relationship, to develop effective treatment programs for battering men, and to expand these programs to include treatment interventions for women who are violent. It is equally important to provide marital counseling for those violent couples who can respond to it, by professional staff trained and experienced in domestic violence dynamics. Both the abusing and the abused spouse are usually in need of parenting counseling, and children from violent families often need direct access to therapeutic services.

5. Teach young men and women how to live successfully with the complexities of intimacy and marriage. There is little recognition in our society that couples need to be prepared for marriage. Coupling is quintessentially a "private affair" and being "in love" is seen as sufficient to cope with the inevitable tensions and conflicts in the relationship. Destructive marital patterns, including physical abuse, are, however, likely to be established during courtship or early in marriage. In the face of the tremendous psychological and social costs of failed marriages, it behooves us to think more about prevention. At the very least, therapeutic group programs are needed for high-risk populations, on friendship, love, intimacy, and how to resolve conflicts in intimate relationships. Couples in early marriages and cohabiting relationships, those who have witnessed spousal abuse in their family of origin, and those who are the product of a bitter divorce could especially benefit.

Gang Violence and Hate Crime Prevention and Intervention

Gang Violence

Gang violence and hate crimes are symptomatic of economic and social disintegration of communities and essentially require a community, if not a national level of response. There are complex economic and political issues involved in the reconstruction of urban communities, which are beyond the scope of this paper. Successful efforts to reverse the tragic consequences of gang involvement can be made at the local level, however, by redesigning the social ecology on behalf of teenagers and young adults, in order to provide them with viable alternatives and new opportunities. This will involve many of the following in collaborative efforts: local governments, local businesses, national corporations that have local sites, schools, landlord and tenant organizations, neighborhood associations, service clubs, law enforcement and court personnel, and family service and mental health agencies. In depressed areas, many of these community groups and public services do not even exist and would need to be formed and nurtured during their embryonic stages.

1. First and foremost, programs to rehydrate stagnant urban and rural areas with new industry and job opportunities are urgently needed. For example, a coalition of local government and the business community, with help from federal and state funds, could provide job training and job placement services for individuals and at the same time offer economic incentives to develop new business and industrial opportunities within these areas.

2. Vigorous efforts must be made to take back the control of communities from organized criminal elements. It is unlikely that new job opportunities are sufficient to stem the tide of violence in high-crime neighborhoods, where

illegal enterprises are long established and well organized within an underground economy and backed by a counterculture which actively supports and justifies its existence. Moreover, where the potential pay-offs for high-risk drug dealing and other crime far exceeds what could be gained from legitimate employment, there is little motivation for change. For these reasons, there need to be vigorous efforts to eliminate drug 'posses' and access to illegal weapons. This involves targeting high crime neighborhoods for increased patrol by police, local gun restrictions, witness-protection programs, and pretrial detention, all with the purpose of eliminating drug trafficking and other organized criminal activities.

For children and adolescents in these neighborhoods, there is a need to create "safe haven" schools and recreation centers in the afternoon and evenings. Community-based sports, vocational training, drama, art, and other social programs need to be subsidized in poor urban areas. The purpose of these programs is essentially to discover and develop these young people's non-academic interests and talents and to provide alternative peer groups to gang involvement among children and youth.

Town planning and community development efforts aimed at fostering safer, yet attractive recreational facilities for teenagers would allow young people to "hang out" with their friends in protected environments. This may involve designing skating arenas, movie theaters, game rooms, "dry" dance clubs, and fast food stands within shopping malls where teenagers tend to congregate. Street artists and other entertainers should be encouraged to perform in these public areas, which can be shared by all segments of the community and easily monitored by security personnel.

There is some evidence that special school-community-family partnerships against gang activity have been successful in areas where gangs are common. These programs are aimed specifically at preventing the recruitment of adolescents to violent gangs and providing role models (including former gang members) to serve as leaders in alternative peer groups. These peer groups can provide the positive functions that are currently assumed by gangs (physical protection, pride, respect, and a sense of belonging).

Hate Crimes

To date, there has been more emphasis upon combatting hate crimes than on preventing them. This generally involves an increasingly punitive stance towards racism, sexism, and homophobia by enacting more stringent laws, an approach which has been criticized because it tends to drive underground the expressions of hate and bigotry rather than eliminating it. Prevention of hate crimes, on the other hand, involves a community education process that embraces cultural and lifestyle diversity, and seeks to promote respectful community relationships between different social groups. Prevention is likely to be effective, however, only if there are vigorous, ongoing, proactive efforts by an array of community institutions and the media to achieve these ends.

1. To begin with, school programs that encompass culturally diverse historical and social perspectives in their curriculums and provide more ethnic role models for minority students among teachers and school administrators can instil a sense of pride and self-respect among disadvantaged minority students. Educational and experiential programs among staff, students and members of different schools, churches, and community groups can break down racial-ethnic, religious, and sexual-orientation stereotypes. Sharing facilities and programs

and finding common ground by engaging in group tasks, service projects, and shared recreation, all work to eliminate the ignorance and intolerance that catalyze oppression and crimes of hate.

2. Formal liaison and close working relationships between police and community groups whose members tend to be victimized by hate crimes should be established and strengthened. This would increase the sensitivity of law-enforcement agencies to the special issues of different minority groups (e.g. ethnic and racial minorities as well as gays and lesbians). It would also increase willingness of victims to report hate crime incidents to a sympathetic and responsive police force and court system and provide for more systematic efforts aimed at prevention and deterrence through vigorous prosecution. Furthermore, it would send a stronger message to those who are discriminated against, and subjected to symbolic gestures and actual crimes of hate, that these acts are not tolerated by authorities and that the community-at-large cares about and wants to offer protection, restitution, and justice to victims.

3. Finally it is crucial that the power of the visual media, especially television, be harnessed in the service of widespread attitude changes and to help socialize new generations of children to achieve better interpersonal and cross-cultural relationships. Because of its capacity to reach into every home and broadly disseminate images of people and social life, television is especially well equipped to foster an understanding and appreciation of diverse cultures. Too often, however, television reflects and reinforces negative cultural assumptions and stereotypes that feed racism, sexism and homophobia. Furthermore, by its emphasis on astounding scenes of brutality, sadism and

violence in the name of entertainment, this powerful visual medium more than contributes to a tolerance for violence; it legitimates and extols its use. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that television can also exert an important and wide-ranging positive influence by raising public awareness about family violence and about racial, ethnic, and gender stereotypes that contribute to abusive and exploitive relationships inside and outside the home. Its use needs to be co-opted to these positive ends.

DRAFT VERSION ONLY:
COMMENTS WELCOMED

Chapter 2

THE PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN

Jeanne Barr

Kristan Glasgow

Kristin Hansen

Abstract

This paper explores the pervasive and insidious problem of child abuse in our society. Physical and sexual abuse of children are given explicit consideration. Physical child abuse is a loosely defined phenomenon because of the variable child rearing practices assumed within differing cultures. A review of the literature reveals that there are three approaches used to understand this form of abuse: psychological, sociological, and ecological. While embracing the notion of human ecology, current theorizing appears to view the physical abuse of children as a problem multidetermined by adverse social and psychological conditions. Here, we investigate the behavioral problems, cognitive deficits, negative patterns of social interaction, and depressive symptoms associated with physically abused preschoolers and school-age children. In addition, attention is paid to the quality of interactions between abusive mothers and their infants as assessed through attachment relationships. We propose a community-based intervention program to improve parental efficacy and increase social support, two features we have found to be keys to reducing the risk for physical abuse.

For our purposes, sexual abuse is limited to incest and other intrafamilial abuse. Intrafamilial sexual abuse is found to have been experienced by as many as 21% of the adult female population of the United States. Theoretical approaches are considered which explain sexual abuse as the result of a combination of factors in the environment and in the psyche of the abuser. Behavior checklists indicate that the immediate effects of childhood sexual abuse include internalizing and externalizing problems, evidencing heightened sexual behavior, and experiencing feelings of fear, shame, guilt, helplessness, and depression. In contrast, sexually abused children fail to evidence any significant effects in self-reports. Hypotheses are offered to explain this discrepancy. In the long term, sexual abuse has been found to have devastating effects on its victims. We advocate a school-based prevention program that emphasizes general self-defense strategies for children and also increases their knowledge about appropriate and inappropriate contact.

Overview

Our culture extols the virtues of childhood and places enormous value on the contribution the early years of life make to a bright and fulfilled future. As a carefree period of innocence, vibrancy, and enchantment, childhood should then be among our most cherished memories. That the childhood spirit is often crushed by the very individuals entrusted with its protection is among the tragic paradoxes of our social reality. Though their pain is too often discreetly concealed, we know that thousands of children are being emotionally, physically, and sexually abused each year. Violence against children is an unjustifiably horrific phenomenon that stains our social fabric. Our hope is that this paper will serve to vocalize the silent cries of childhood.

Unraveling the etiology of child abuse and its effects upon children is a challenging yet delicate task. Although this abuse is enacted within private arenas, efforts aimed at understanding its origins and aftermath have proven to be revealing in recent years. One objective of this paper is to highlight the research on both physical and sexual abuse of children, which has offered promising insights to their causes and their effects. Our purpose is not merely one of review and summary, however, Based upon the information presented here, we will present for consideration potential prevention and intervention programs.

Our immediate intention is to create a perspective from which to view this national problem. We will do this, first, by defining the specific features of child abuse that will be considered in this paper. Thereafter, we will address the variable origins of abusive episodes and their impact upon children's developmental well-being. Finally, we will offer an approach to treatment that reaches out both to the caretakers who abuse and to the children who suffer. Child abuse is a multidetermined phenomenon that impacts at all levels of our society. A clear understanding of the complexity of the problem is, we believe, the cornerstone for effective action against it.

Towards a Definition of Child Abuse

"The existence of an adequate definition of child abuse...is central to the entire system of detection, prevention, and service delivery to problem families" (Wolfe, 1987, p. 14). In our attempts to define what represents child abuse, we must contend with a collection of fundamental, yet difficult questions regarding childrearing practices. In doing so, we tread upon ground laden with value judgments and subjective biases at the same time as we struggle to formulate criteria for distinguishing abusive acts within diverse contexts. Not surprisingly, there is as yet no single definition of child abuse that has been accepted by workers in this field.

The problem of child abuse is generally considered within the wider scope of child maltreatment, which includes physical, emotional, and sexual abuse and neglect. The broadest definition of child abuse is incorporated within federal legislation. At best, this definition only minimally outlines basic parental responsibilities and, in this sense, accomplishes two objectives: (1) to establish, albeit loosely, the parameters of parental authority; and (2) to preserve the autonomous functioning of the family unit (Giovannoni & Becerra, 1979). Since its approval in 1974, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act has provided the definitional framework for most state legislation regarding the issue of child abuse (NCCAN, 1988; Starr, Dubowitz, & Bush, 1990). It defines child abuse and neglect as:

> ...the physical or mental injury, sexual abuse or exploitation, negligent treatment, or maltreatment of a child under the age of 18 by a person who is responsible for the child's welfare under circumstances which indicate that the child's health or welfare is harmed or threatened thereby...(Giovannoni & Becerra, 1979, p.13)

We believe, however, that the problem of child maltreatment, with its inclusion of neglect, is too expansive for consideration within a single paper. For purposes of detail and clarity, we have therefore chosen to limit our concerns to the physical and sexual abuse of children and to offer separate discussions of each. Our focus shall be further narrowed by casting it upon that abuse which occurs interpersonally between the child and a parental caretaker. We will exclude institutionally based child abuse that takes place in schools, correctional facilities, welfare agencies, or child daycare centers. Separate considerations of emotional abuse (verbal assaults, degradation, humiliation, and objectification) have also been precluded, as physical and emotional maltreatment are often cogently bound together within a single abusive episode (AHA, 1984).

Child Physical Abuse

Legal and Social Definitions

The principal criterion used among states to distinguish intentional abuse from accidental trauma is, as indicated, physical injury or harm (Wolfe, 1985). Most states do not elaborate upon what kinds of physical injury are indicative of abuse (DeFrancis & Lucht, 1974). The reporting laws of Idaho and Colorado are exceptions. They specifically define physical injury via observable evidence: "skin bruising, bleeding, malnutrition, burns, fractures of any bone, subdural hematoma, soft tissue swelling, failure to thrive or death" (NCCAN, 1983; NIMH, 1977).

Note that what distinguishes physical abuse from discipline is not clearly explicated in legal provisions (NIMH, 1977). Sociocultural definitions of what are acceptable means of child rearing vary across communities (Korbin, 1980). The challenge routinely faced by the judiciary system is to determine what lies beyond the cultural continuum of acceptable behavior. For this reason, it has been argued that broadly stated legal standards provide the necessary flexibility for accommodating the inherent variability among child abuse cases (Katz, 1971; Krause, 1977; Wolfe, 1987).

The conceptual web is further complicated as child protection agencies, school professionals, hospitals, mental health agencies and child care centers differentially interpret existing legal definitions (NCCAN, 1988). Agencies often develop their own criteria for determining whether abuse has been evinced under the state and federal definitions. However, these standards are not used consistently (Giovannoni & Becerra, 1979; Starr et al., 1990). Other than "inflicted injury or harm," considerations of parental intent, remorse, resources, and stability are often interchangeably considered when substantiating abusive circumstances (NIMH, 1977; Wolfe, 1987).

Giovannoni and Becerra (1979) have suggested that a number of factors may contribute to the apparent variance within the professional community: failure to recognize willfully inflicted injuries, uncertainty regarding what are "reportable conditions," denial of the actuality of abuse, or fear of becoming involved in an investigation. That dissimilar criteria are used throughout the community of professionals is a fact that threatens the comparability, reliability, and taxonomic delineation of research into child abuse (Besharov, 1981). Discrepant conceptualizations prevent social scientists from determining whether a given sample population includes the phenomenon of their concern. Attempts to assess the incidence of child abuse particularly suffers from this inadequacy. At best, estimates reflect only that phenomenon which befits the label employed in any given study.

Reflecting on this tangle, we find ourselves in agreement with Gelles and Straus (1988), who wrote: "Twenty years of discussion, debate, and action have led us to conclude that there will never be an accepted or acceptable definition of abuse, because abuse is not a scientific or clinical term" (Gelles & Straus, 1988, p.57). Therefore, for the purposes of this study, and in the interest of ultimately devising prevention and intervention strategies, we have chosen to combine definitions offered by Gil (1970), the National Institute of Mental Health (1977), and Parke and Collmer (1975). Hereafter, the physical abuse of children shall be construed as those nonaccidental physical injuries resulting from acts committed by caretakers, which violate community standards of appropriate childrearing practices and require medical intervention, legal intervention, or both.

Incidence of Child Physical Abuse

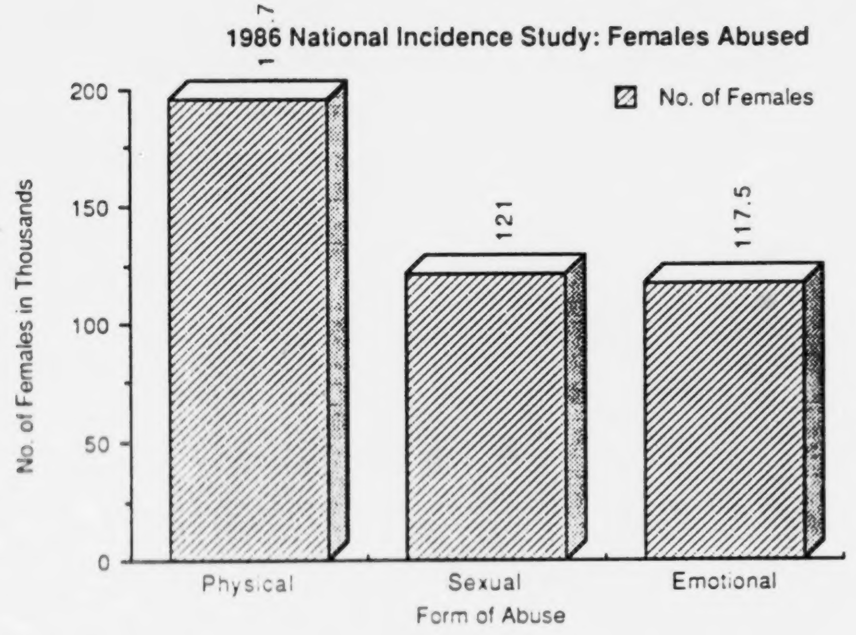
As we indicated previously, attempts to assess the incidence of child physical abuse confront inherent problems. Incidence studies compile information from a number of possible investigatory agencies (e.g. child protection services, police, courts, public health departments) and non-investigatory agencies (e.g. schools, hospitals, mental health centers). Combined estimates therefore vary and are likely to exclude a good proportion of potentially abusive cases, while overrepresenting others. The following estimates include only those cases known either to an investigative agency or to a community professional representing a non-investigatory agency. In the latter instance, reports have yet to be "officially filed."

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect [NCCAN] reported in 1986 that 1,584,700 children nationwide (25.2 children per 1000) were maltreated (NCCAN, 1988). Of this total number, 732,000 maltreatment cases were known to child protection services, whereas 852,000 cases were known among the non-investigatory agencies previously mentioned. Furthermore, 43% of the total number of maltreatment cases were abusive in nature. Therefore, a total of 675,000 children nationwide (10.7 children per 1000) were either emotionally, physically, or sexually abused in 1986 (NCCAN, 1988).

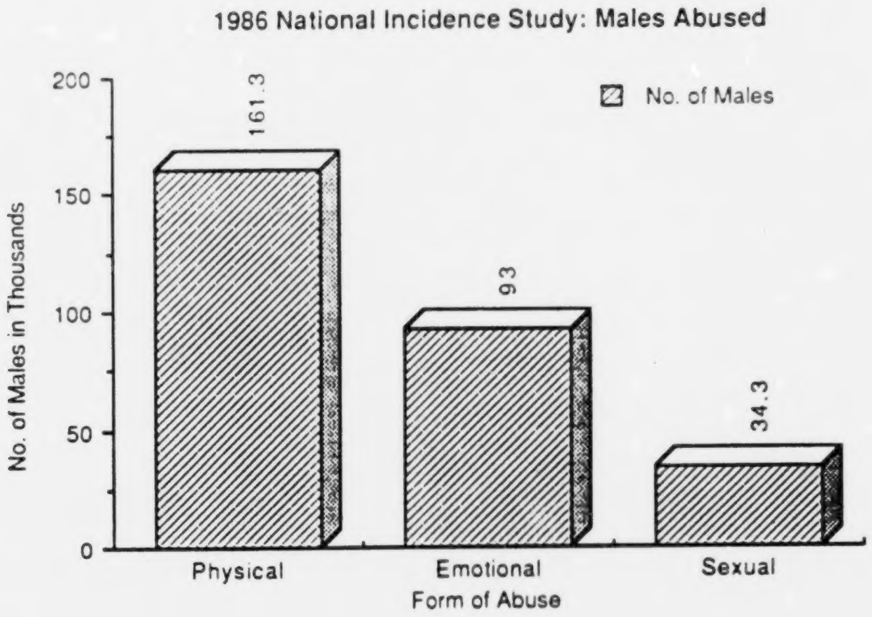
Of these abusive cases, physical abuse occurred most frequently: nationally, 358,300 children (5.7 per 1000) were physically assaulted during 1986, a 58% increase since 1980. Though the number of females who had suffered abuse was slightly higher than males (195,700 versus 161,300), proportionally, 60% of the males, compared to 49% of the females, were physically abused. Table 1 (following page) illustrates the number of females and males (in thousands) under the age of 18 who were either physically, emotionally, or sexually abused in 1986. Proportionally, these numbers indicate that 13% of males and 30% of females were sexual abused, whereas 34% of males and 29% of females were emotionally abused.

According to the 1988 NCCAN report, although children of all ages were at risk for physical abuse, the incidence appeared to increase with age (NCCAN, 1988). Children between the ages of 0-2 were less likely to be physically

Table 1



1986 National Incidence Study: Females Abused



1986 National Incidence Study: Males Abused

Source: National Committee on Child Abuse and Neglect, 1988.

abused than children of 3-5 years, and the latter group were less likely to be abused than those aged 12 years or older. Although the youngest children experienced less overall abuse, this age group experienced the highest number of fatalities. Table 2 summarizes the types of injuries documented in 1986 and number of children (in thousands) who had incurred the respective injuries. Overall, moderate injuries occurred in 60% of the maltreatment cases, followed by child endangerment (19%), probable injury (11%), serious injury (10%) and fatality (0.1%).[1]

The American Humane Association's composite profile of reported cases from 1976 to 1982 indicated that the majority (85%) of all child maltreatment is perpetrated by natural parents (AHA, 1984). With respect to only physical abuse, the American Association for Protecting Children found that mothers and fathers were equally likely to be perpetrators of abuse (AAPC, 1988).[2]

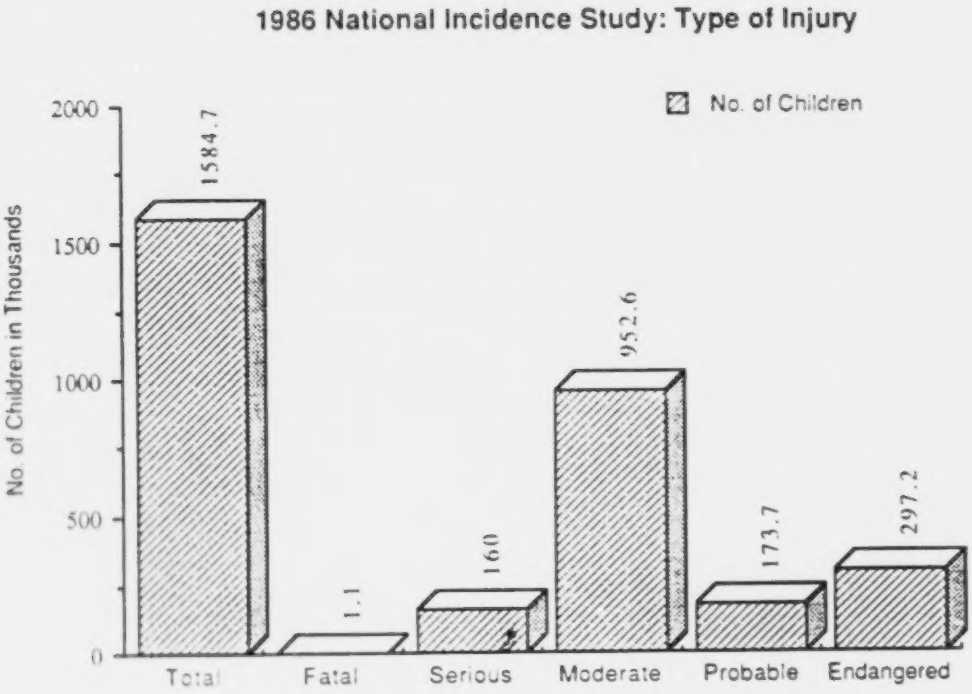
These studies have produced equivocal results regarding the incidence of child abuse among families of differing race and ethnicity. The composite profile indicated that blacks were slightly overrepresented, constituting 20% of all reported abuse cases compared to the total percentage (15%) of black children in the United States (AHA, 1984). Conversely, the National Incidence Study conducted in 1986 found no significant racial or ethnic differences among reported child abuse cases (NCCAN, 1988).

---

[1] Severity of injury was classified as either unknown, endangered, probable, moderate, serious, or fatal. Endangered included situations of neglect deemed potentially harmful to the child. Probable included circumstances where injury was assumed to have occurred given the nature of maltreatment. Moderate injuries were those which persisted in observable form (including pain and impairment) for at least 48 hours. Severe injuries were life threatening and resulted in long-term impairment of physical, emotional, or mental capacities.

[2] Considerations of socioeconomic status will be discussed with respect to the sociological model of child abuse.

Table 2



Source: National Committee on Child Abuse and Neglect, 1988.

Theoretical Approaches to Understanding the Physical Abuse of Children

Traditionally, research on child abuse has utilized one of three etiological models: a psychopathological model, a sociological model, or an ecological model (Belsky, 1980; Gelles, 1973; NIMH, 1977; Parke & Collmer, 1975). These theoretical orientations are similarly known as the psychiatric, socio-cultural, and socio-psychological models respectively. While each approach is distinct, they all effectively address the same perplexing question: What makes those who abuse different from those who do not? While circumscribed by our aforementioned objectives, the purpose of the following discussion is twofold: to highlight the operative assumptions underlying each model's orientation and to identify those factors which place children at risk for incurring physical abuse.

The Psychopathological Model

The psychopathological model narrowly presumes that the responsibility for child abuse resides solely with the parent. Theorizing initiated nearly two decades ago assumed that abusive parents embodied fundamental personality or characterological faults which, unlike nonabusive parents, imbued them with an aggressive propensity to lash out when confronted by a precipitous crisis. Contrary to this assumption, contemporary research has demonstrated that the psychological constitutions of abusive parents are not necessarily clinically aberrant (Factor & Wolfe, 1990; Gelles, 1973; Parke & Collmer, 1975). Approximately 5% of abusers exhibit symptomatology indicative of severe psychopathology (Wolfe, 1985). Consequently, the original premises underlying the psychopathological model have been largely dismissed. Given that the personality profile of abusive parents could not be empirically drawn, alternative efforts have therefore attempted to discern whether these parents are *characterologically* different from nonabusive parents.

Clinically based investigations have routinely described abusive parents as using a myriad of characteristic displays, including poor emotional control, aggressive impulses, pervasive anger, immaturity, demandingness, hypersensitivity, and depressive tendencies (Gelles, 1973; NIMH, 1977; Parke & Collmer, 1975; Tower, 1989). Upon completing a comprehensive review of the comparative studies that have investigated behavioral differences among abusive and nonabusive parents, Wolfe (1987) concluded that the following are more commonly evidenced: lower tolerance to frustration, isolation from social support, less positive and more negative interactions with children, power assertions, and inconsistent disciplinary practices. Among the cognitive and emotional characteristics similarly studied, Wolfe further concluded that abusive parents more frequently display dulled affect during parent-child interactions and experience more physical and affective disturbances. Perceptually, these parents tend to see themselves as less effective in their parental role and their children's behavior as more stressful than do nonabusive parents.

The fact that abusive parents report frustration over their parenting experiences presents an additional issue considered within this model. Speculation deriving from early investigations of child abusers has suggested that abusive parents are less cognizant of children's developmental timing, needs, and abilities than are nonabusive parents (Blumberg, 1974; Galdston, 1965; Steele & Pollack, 1968). Despite its intuitive appeal, this explanation has not systematically received empirical support. In comparative studies using self-report questionnaires, abusive parents' perceptions of children's developmental achievements were no different than those of controls, nor were they necessarily inaccurate (Gaines, Sandgrund, Green, & Power, 1978; Milner & Wimberely, 1980; Starr, 1982).

Interestingly, process-oriented research has shown that although abusive parents seemingly know what to expect developmentally from their children, they apparently do not apply this information in actual situations (Azer, Robinson, Hekimian, & Twentyman, 1984). Consequently, abusers hold unrealistic and inappropriate expectations regarding their children's behaviors, intentions, and capacities (Bauer & Twentyman, 1985; Larrance & Twentyman, 1983; Spinetta, 1978). Those children who are likely to generate stress in their parents (such as premature, low-birth weight, and temperamentally difficult children) could be at greater risk for abuse than other children (see Friedrich & Boriskin, 1976). For example, violent incidents can be triggered by the parent's overwhelming frustration at the child's inability to meet senseless demands for compliance ("Stop crying!") or for rational thought ("Answer me!").

The origins of such characterological and perceptual disturbances in abusive parents are thought to derive largely from their own abusive and affectively deprived childhood histories. The popular assumption is that abusive behavior, or "abuse-proneness," is transmitted intergenerationally. Whether those who were abused as children mature into abusers of children is an uncertain fact, however. Upon completing her review of the literature, Pagelow (1984) concluded that there is no conclusive evidence to support the intergenerational hypothesis. Rather, it appears that there is only a modest relationship between either having experienced or having witnessed abuse as a child and the likelihood of maturing into an abusive parent. At best, the "cycle of violence" notion is a useful orientation for pondering the question of what makes some parents, and not others, abuse their children.

Nevertheless, the widely intuited belief that abused children are destined to become child abusers remains, primarily due to the insights of social learning theory (Bandura, 1973), which holds that whether physical abuse ensues after a precipitating event depends upon the anticipated consequences one has learned to associate with aggressive behavior. That is, if aggression is either immediately or intermittently reinforced through compliance, then the chance of its future occurrence increases. As abuse recurs, inhibitions against aggression further erode, thereby adding to the likelihood that violence will become a dominant response to frustrating circumstances. In this way, violent means of problem solving and achieving desired ends become internalized and sanctioned for both the abuser and abused. According to social learning theory, then, the experience of abuse, whether personal or vicarious, adversely affects socialization processes, as both recipients and witnesses learn to emulate abusive behavior. As adults, these practices are reenacted and hence become cyclical in nature.

Deprived attachment relations have also been accorded etiological importance in child abuse. It is frequently assumed that the global experience of parental rejection as a child perpetuates a cycle of parental inadequacy well into adulthood (Vondra, 1990). Among the early advocates of this view, Steele and Pollack (1968) suggested that "the lack of the deep sense of being cared for and cared about from the beginning of one's life" is a "basic factor in the genesis of parental abuse" (p.112). Belsky (1980) has further suggested that thwarted empathic development, the consequence of emotional deprivation, may serve to desensitize the abusive parent to their child's pain. As the ill-formed relationships born in childhood grow into adult sources of inner conflict, the effects upon parental functioning are expressed through either of two psychodynamic processes: transference or role reversal.

The transference process assumes that children are rejected as a function of a previously abused parent's unresolved childhood feelings (Galdston, 1965; Steele & Pollack, 1968). As the perpetrator of abuse experiences residual anger and internalized hostility, conflicted emotions get vented upon the defenseless child, who symbolizes the abuser's own parents. Alternatively, role reversal is the process by which the parent expects the child to assume the role of nurturer. Frustration generates as the young child fails in his or her "duty" to parent the parent. In either process, the underlying mechanism impelling parental behaviors is an implicit, ongoing distortion of the reality encircling the parent-child relationship.

In summary, the psychopathological model presupposes that characterological differences distinguish abusive from nonabusive parents. Furthermore, the behavioral, cognitive, and emotional features ascribed to abusers derive from their own histories of abuse and parental rejection. Accordingly, the differences existing between those who abuse and those who do not emerge as a function of individual responses, predetermined by childhood experiences, to adult circumstances. It can be concluded that the early histories of abusive parents are likely to create, at least, a predisposition which places them at risk for abusive reactivity.

The Sociological Model

The sociological model assumes that child abuse is precipitated by dynamics operating within the societal and cultural systems (Parke & Collmer, 1975). Hence, the focus shifts from the intrapsychic structure of individual functioning to consider social characteristics and values of groups of people. This approach presupposes that contextual factors inherent within each social system act to produce sufficient psychological stress to adversely affect the quality of parental functioning.[3] From this perspective then, situationally mediated stress is the impetus for abusive behavior, rather than inherent characterological weaknesses.

This orientation views family dynamics, generally, and parental well-being, specifically, as being affected by stress originating from socially structured conditions. The risk factors associating structurally induced stress to the incidence of child abuse are largely related to a family's location in the social-economic hierarchy (Parke & Collmer, 1975). The degree to which socioeconomic forces undermine the functioning of the family system has long been suspected to play a role in the etiology of child abuse. It is a widely held contention "that the majority of chronically maltreating families fall within the lowest social echelons is no coincidence" (Vondra, 1990, p.161).[4]

---

[3] For a sufficient condition to cause abuse, all relevant necessary factors must be in effect. In their absence, the level of risk associated with sufficient conditions is minimized (Garbarino, 1977).

[4] Whether socioeconomically disadvantaged families are truly overrepresented is a controversial issue. Social scientists have readily acknowledged that the greater utilization of social services and hospital emergency rooms among such families may somewhat inflate estimates. However, our position is that current estimates are sufficiently discerning to justify targeting these families as being at a substantial risk for child abuse.

Poverty alone, however, is not assumed to be a necessary condition for child abuse. Current theorizing regards the association between socioeconomic status and abuse as one predicated upon a series of intervening factors (Gil, 1975; Vondra, 1990). Specifically, the correlates of poverty (low income, unemployment and large sized families) are assigned a necessary mediating role in the onset of abuse.

Family income level. In 1986, an analysis of abuse cases reported nationally revealed that the incidence of physical abuse among lower income families was four times that of higher income families (NCCAN, 1988). For families with incomes under and over $15,000 per year, the rates of physical abuse were 10.2 children and 2.5 children per 1000 respectively. Using self-reported data from a 1985 study, Straus and Gelles (1990) similarly found that the highest rates of child abuse committed by both mothers and fathers occurred in families earning less than $20,000 per year.

Unemployment. In Gil's (1970) national survey, 12% of the sampled abusive fathers were unemployed at the time of the abusive incident, a figure three times the national unemployment rate during that year. In the 1975 National Family Violence Survey, Straus (1990) found a 62% greater incidence of child abuse among families in which the husband was unemployed. More recent estimates reported that 23.7% of physically abusive parents were unemployed, compared to the national unemployment rate of 6.5% (AHA, 1984). In 1986, 29% of physically abusive families were unemployed (AAPC, 1988). Interestingly, in 1985 Straus (1990) found a 50% higher incidence of wife abuse among women with unemployed husbands, compared to those with husbands employed full time.

Family size. Although children may be at risk for abuse in any size household, available evidence indicates that abuse occurs disproportionately in larger-sized families (Belsky, 1980; Gil, 1970). Light's (1973) reanalysis of Gil's national survey data found that the percentage of abusive families with only one child was 18%, whereas 31.8% of all U.S. families had only a single child at that time. Strikingly, the percentages of abusive families with 4 or more children was 39.5%, although only 19.6% of all U.S. families had a similar number of children that year. National estimates derived in 1980 and 1986 converge with these trends (NCCAN 1981, 1988).

Socioeconomic status can be realistically considered as a sufficient condition of risk only insofar as these correlates of poverty are (1) associated with child abuse, and (2) presumed to heighten psychological stress and attenuate coping defenses. This hypothesis is supported by the following findings. Straus (1990) found that respondents surveyed in 1975 who had experienced comparatively more stressful events, particularly of economic and occupational origin, were more violent to their spouses. In 1985, survey responses further demonstrated that marital violence spills over into the parent-child relationship, an observation noted earlier by Steinmetz (1977). In those families in which husbands hit their wives, the incidence of child abuse was 150% greater than in dissimilar families. When wives had abused their husbands, the incidence of child abuse was 120% greater.

The conflict which flows from the marital union into the parent-child relationship may be a continuing expression of frustration or a scapegoating defense (Pagelow, 1984; Tower, 1989). Within these stressed environments then, abusive acts are not necessarily imbued with malicious intent. Rather, the sociological perspective suggests that the physical abuse of children symbolizes desperate attempts to restore feelings of control and efficacy in an otherwise powerlessness situation (Belsky, 1980; Pagelow, 1984). Belsky (1980) intuited that "the tolerance of stress is as much a function of a family's skill in effectively marshalling its resources to cope with adversity as it is a function of the absolute levels of stress to which a family is subjected" (p.326).

Ineffective coping is perceived sociologically as a parental role malfunction (Garbarino, 1977). Elder's (1977) model of role transition suggests that a lack of role rehearsal and preparation, a consequence of inadequate childhood socialization, renders parents ill prepared for the demands of childrearing. The coupling of parental incompetence with stress-generating societal conditions may produce a volatile family environment, in which abusive acts can be easily triggered, particularly if a parent has learned to alleviate frustration through aggression. In order for an aggressive predisposition to be unleashed, however, necessary conditions for child abuse must exist.

The legitimization of violence within our society comprises a necessary condition for child abuse (Belsky, 1980; Garbarino, 1977; Gil, 1975). Gil has argued that endemic use of physical force, for what are seemingly constructive purposes, has dulled our sensibilities to its consequent harms. Violence against children is fundamentally predicated upon the culturally sanctioned use of punitive recourses. A comparative analysis of reporting laws revealed, for example, that 31 states have provisions justifying the use of corporal punishment for "promoting the welfare of the minor," which includes the prevention or punishment of misconduct (NCCAN, 1983). It is not surprising, therefore, that over 90% of national survey respondents have reported using physical force at some point while rearing their children (Straus, 1990). That child abuse most often occurs under the guise of "discipline" belies the notion of the "welfare of the minor," in the service of which it has been so insidiously woven into our social fabric.

The Ecological Model

The ecological model of child abuse is based upon the belief that human behavior cannot be studied independently of its social context. Advocates of this orientation perceive the traditional dichotomy between individual and societal levels of causation as a distortion of social reality's complexity (Belsky, 1980; Garbarino, 1977; Rosenberg & Reppucci, 1985). Thus, this is a model which embeds risk factors of psychological and sociological origin into a framework sensitive to the dynamic quality of human behavior. As such, it assimilates what are seemingly diverse orientations into a single perspective.

Injuring or harming a child to the degree that medical or legal intervention is required is perceived ecologically as a multidetermined outcome, produced by a series of converging influences which emanate from the individual, family, community, and society. Accordingly, this approach does not merely identify potential risk factors relating to child abuse, but also considers their interactional relationships. To suggest, for example, as the sociological model does, that stressful family environments contribute to child abuse is not viewed here as adequate to explain why some parents respond abusively to stress while others do not (Gelles, 1973). Garbarino, a principal advocate of the ecological perspective, has argued:

> It is the unmanageability of the stresses that is the most important factor. That unmanageability is the product of a mismatch between the level of stress and the availability and potency of personal and social resources, chief among which are support systems. (Garbarino & Gilliam, 1980, p.33, emphasis added)

Every investigation which has studied social isolation as a risk factor has found an association between it and child abuse (Belsky, 1980). In the absence of socially supportive relationships, the deleterious effects of stress upon parental functioning increase, effectively creating a second necessary condition for child abuse. In an earlier study, Garbarino (1976) found that socioeconomic stress experienced by mothers without adequate social support accounted for 36% of the variance in child abuse rates, whereas economic conditions alone accounted for only 16% of that variance. From this can be posited an additional cost of poverty not accounted for by the sociological model, namely, that inadequate financial resources prevent access to institutional support systems.

In addition to lacking formal supports, abusive families are less likely to utilize informal supports. Abusive parents rarely belong to or participate in organized community groups or activities (Garbarino & Crouter, 1978). They tend to resolve crises alone and prevent their children from developing relationships outside the home (Garbarino, 1977). The immediate consequence of isolation from both formal and informal supports is that maladaptive patterns of interaction among family members are maintained. In such situations, the private haven of the family is at risk for becoming a "perfectly shielded setting for private violence" (Gelles & Straus, 1988, p.30).

The ameliorative effects of social support systems must therefore be underscored. Supportive relationships inoculate a family against the ills of stress. During periods of distress, their presence enhances parental efficacy by providing increased emotional support, a mechanism for impulse control, and alternative child management strategies (Caplan, 1974). As such, the importance of these relationships increases linearly with the degree of stress experienced in the family environment.

Summary

The goal of presenting each of the three etiological models has been to highlight those factors which substantially place children at risk for incurring physical abuse. Perhaps the most comprehensive of these three is the ecological model. It views the problem of child abuse from a contextually integrated vantage point, which facilitates strategic considerations of how to prevent child abuse and intervene in abusive families. An ecological overview of the sufficient and necessary conditions for child abuse, as previously composed by Rosenberg and Reppucci (1985), is therefore provided for summary purposes:

> Individual-level factors include parental personality variables and socialization history, such as experience with or exposure to violence, parental rejection, and inappropriate developmental expectations for children. Family-level factors include dysfunctional interactions among family members, abuse-eliciting child characteristics, and conflictual spousal relationships. Community-level factors include isolation from formal and informal supports, unemployment, and unmanageable stress. Societal-level factors include the sanctioning of physical punishment to control children's behavior. (p.577)

Effects of Physical Abuse on Child Development

Despite mounting concern over the increase in child abuse incidents, relatively few studies have concentrated on the immediate and long-lasting psychological effects of physical abuse. Past studies have focussed primarily on the behavioral and cognitive effects of abuse, including lowered school achievement (Friedrich & Einbender, 1983; Hoffman-Plotkin & Twentyman 1984; Newberger, Newberger, & Hampton, 1983; Toro, 1982); increased aggressive behavior and delinquency (Erikson, Egeland, & Pianta, 1989; George & Main, 1979; Haskett & Kistner, 1990; Kinard, 1980, 1982); tantrums, hyperactivity, avoidance of peers (George & Main, 1979; Martin & Beezley, 1976, 1977); and peer rejection (Haskett & Kistner, 1990).

In the last ten years, child abuse research has shifted from an emphasis on overt behaviors to the study of the underlying depressive symptoms, such as helplessness, sadness, and low self-esteem, which may perpetuate these actions. In addition, contemporary research has also focused more closely on mother-infant interaction styles and attachment patterns in physically abused children. This literature emphasizes the contribution of the mother[5] and the infant to the social context of development. It questions whether such variables as maternal unresponsiveness and difficult infant temperament may provoke or maintain the abuse.

This section will review research investigating the effects of physical maltreatment in infancy, preschool, and early grammar school—including behavioral problems, cognitive deficits, and negative patterns of social interaction. It will also address abused children's feelings of self-worth, their explanatory styles for actions and events, the degree to which they believe they have control over their environment, and prevalence of depressive symptoms. This research will be interpreted in relation to the reformulated learned helplessness theory of depression (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978).

---

[5] Throughout the remainder of this discussion "primary caretaker" will be used interchangeably with "mother." Our reason for this decision is that nearly all of this literature has studied the interaction of infants only with their mothers.

Physical Abuse in Infancy

Both the mother and the infant contribute to the context of development. Psychologists used the term dyadic synchrony to refer to the reciprocal interaction between the infant and its primary caretaker: the emotional tone and level of stimulation of the mother affects the behavioral response of the child and vice versa. According to several specialists, the primary function of the affective displays between infants and their caregivers is "the regulation of the partner's behavior" (Cohn & Tronick, 1982, p.59). The adequacy of the timing of joint regulation can profoundly affect the infant's sense of identity, adaptation to the world, coping styles, and quality of interaction with others (Cohn & Tronick, 1982). Some infants can adapt and thrive in the face of inadequate mothering; others respond with a decline in functioning. Some mothers can soothe the most difficult of infants; others cannot respond to an infant's distress. What matters is the "goodness of fit"--the extent to which the infant and the mother can collaborate in a cooperative fashion. Negative characteristics in both the infant's and the mother's behavior increase the risk for abuse. Graham (1980) concluded from interviews of 120 "normal" mothers that intense anger typically arose when the mother had to cope with her baby's persistent crying as well as her own stress and chronic fatigue.

According to many psychologists, the first major milestone of mother-infant dyadic synchrony is the formation of attachment. According to attachment theory (Bowlby 1969, 1973, 1980), infants develop certain expectations about themselves and their caretakers, and they reflect these expectations in the type of attachment bond that forms. Specific attachment relationships are integrated into the personality structure of the infant through the construction of internal working models of attachment figures and the self. The infant implements these models to appraise and guide behavior in new situations (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1980; Bretherton, 1985). For example, Stevenson-Hinde, Hinde, and Simpson (1986) found that preschoolers' negative interactions with peers were correlated with high amounts of negative mother-child interactions at home. Although these internal models may be replaced later in development, the pattern of attachment in infancy can profoundly impact self-conception and interaction styles throughout preschool, grade school, and, potentially, adulthood (Bretherton, 1985).

The quality of attachment is usually assessed in the "Strange Situation" (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). This laboratory assessment examines the infant's proximity and contact seeking, contact maintaining, resistance, and avoidance vis-a-vis the mother as well as the infant's behavior during interaction with a stranger, separation from mother, and reunion with the mother. Three major categories of attachment have been determined. Securely attached infants use mother as a secure base from which to explore, and they greet the mother affectionately upon return. This pattern of attachment is associated with high levels of play and exploration (Ainsworth, 1982), self-control (Egeland, 1983), sociability with unfamiliar peers and adults at two years of age (Pastor, 1981), and positive social interactions in preschool (Sroufe, Schork, Motti, Lawroski, & LaFreniere, 1984).

In addition to secure attachment, these researchers have also observed two categories of insecurely attached infants. Avoidantly attached infants move or look away from the mother figure; they fail to greet her in reunion; and they often demonstrate aggression and anger. This pattern of attachment predicts high aggression, hostility, and negative interactions with peers in preschool, as well as elevated rates of peer rejection (see Attili, 1989 for a review). Resistantly attached infants combine contact seeking with clear manifestations of anger and rejection. Preschoolers, resistantly attached in infancy, have been shown to exhibit high rates of impulsivity, helplessness, and anxiety in problem solving and in social interactions (Waters & Sroufe, 1983). Many researchers (e.g. Garbarino & Gilliam, 1980; Schneider-Rosen & Cicchetti, 1984) postulate that the home environments of maltreated infants—especially where there is lack of or inappropriate responsivity—place them at greater risk for forming insecure attachments.

Patterns of Interaction in Physically Abused Infants

In a prospective longitudinal study by Egeland and Sroufe (1981), physically abused infants at 12 and 18 months exhibited significantly higher insecure attachment relationships with their mothers than nonabused control infants (73% versus 33% at 12 months; 67% versus 29% at 18 months). The most common form of attachment assessed for physically abused infants was insecure-avoidant. In fact, nearly half of the 12- and 18-month-old physically abused infants were avoidantly attached. At two years of age, physically abused toddlers were rated as significantly more aggressive, frustrated, noncompliant, and negative compared to nonabused matched controls during a problem-solving task with their mothers.

Due to the longitudinal nature of this study, these researchers could document the direction of negative effects--does the mother or child provoke and maintain the abuse? In analyzing their data, Egeland and Sroufe concluded that from birth to six months noxious environments (including inadequate maternal responsivity) predicted physical abuse. For example, several of the notably robust babies at three months (e.g., low irritability, normal birth weight) exhibited significant decreases in their overall functioning at six months. In infants from 6-24 months, however, these researchers observed a "mutual transactional" model. During this time frame, the noncompliant, aggressive behaviors of the child served to perpetuate and provoke future abuse. Similarly, deficits in the primary caregiver's discipline and coping strategies, as well as overall family dysfunction, provoked negative behavior in the child.

Crittendon (1985) conducted a series of two studies to investigate physically abused infants' attachment and interaction style with their abusive mothers. The abusive acts of all the mothers in this sample had been documented by child protection services. The participants in Study 1 included 38 low-SES mother-infant dyads, evenly divided between white and black mothers (mean age infant = 7.2 months; mean age mother = 22 years). The severity of abuse ranged from mild to severe (e.g. bone fracturing). Mothers and infants were observed interacting in a laboratory play setting and in their homes. Study 2 included 73 low-SES mother-infant dyads (mean age infant = 13.7 months; mean age mother = 22 years), who were observed twice at home and once in the laboratory (Strange Situation).

Similar to other empirical research (see Lamb, Gaensbauer, Malkin, & Schultz, 1985; Schneider-Rosen & Cicchetti, 1984), serious maltreatment consistently resulted in insecure attachment, especially the insecure-avoidant pattern. Furthermore, similar to the Egeland and Sroufe (1981) study, the maltreated infants were not found to differ from the control infants in congenital characteristics. Rather, these infants displayed deviance in learned behavior patterns. This finding further supports the model of bi-directional effects: the mother initiates the maltreatment, and the mother and infant behave in a interactive manner that maintains the situation. Further support for the bi-directional model comes from the striking results of an intervention program included in the Crittendon research. Twenty-four mothers in Study 1 took part in an intervention program aimed at increasing their sensitivity and responsiveness to infant cues. In 10 of the 16 cases in which the mother had increased sensitivity, the infant demonstrated a predicted increase in cooperation-operation. These findings suggest that infants are able to adjust interactional behavior in response to change in context. None of the 8 infants whose mothers had not improved demonstrated increase in cooperation-operation. Post-hoc analysis of the 73 mothers from Study 2 revealed that only 4 dyads had improved (without intervention). This strongly suggests that while maternal and infant behavior is malleable, the pattern of interactive behavior is quite stable.

In summary, the overall findings from the literature on interaction styles of maltreated infants strongly suggest that these infants are not in environments conducive to optimal development in socioemotional functioning. Both the mother and the child contribute to this dysfunctional context of development. Some infants can adapt easily to negative mothering, whereas others respond with a decline in functioning. Some mothers can learn to respond effectively to the most difficult of babies, whereas others cannot. What matters is the goodness of fit. Changes in the sensitivity and responsiveness of the mother can increase reciprocal cooperation in the infant. However, without intervention, high levels of insecure attachments place this population of children at risk for continued maltreatment, behavioral problems, cognitive deficits, and severe difficulties interacting with others.

Social Interaction Patterns of Physically Abused Infants and Toddlers

George and Main (1979) rated social interactions of twenty 1-3-year-olds in their daycare setting. Ten infants in the sample had been physically abused, and 10 were matched controls (8 girls, 12 boys). Their results indicate that physically abused children approached caregivers half as often as did controls in response to friendly overtures. When abused children did approach their caregivers, they were more likely to approach indirectly (to the side or back, sometimes with eyes averted). Abused children avoided the friendly overtures of peers four times more often than the control group. Furthermore, maltreated children displayed aggression towards caretakers (threatened or actual assault), and they were significantly more physically abusive towards their peers. None of the nonabused children aggressed towards their caretakers. All of the abused toddlers combined movements of approach with movements of avoidance in response to the friendly overtures of others. None of the children in the control group displayed this approach/avoidance behavior.

George and Main explained these results as indicating that abused children may aggress towards caretakers in order to express anger, seek attention, or imitate the caretaker's abusive behavior. Furthermore, because the interaction between the caretaker and abused infant has often led to "disappointing, painful, and sometimes dangerous consequences," mutual attention is especially threatening to these infants' sense of control. When the caregiver directs his or her attention towards the child, the child either avoids the glance or combines movements of approach with movements of avoidance to gain more control over his or her physiological arousal (1979, p.315). Although this approach/avoidance coping style may be adaptive in the home, it introduces great problems outside of the family. Children who act aggressively and have difficulty approaching their peers suffer a high likelihood of being rejected by their peers (Coie, Dodge, & Kupersmidt, 1990).

Social Interactions and Peer Perceptions of Abused Preschoolers

Haskett and Kistner (1990) investigated fourteen 3-6-year-old children with a history of physical abuse and a closely matched comparison group of 14 nonabused children. All children had been in daycare together for more than one year. Behavioral observations, teacher reports, and peer sociometric ratings were used to evaluate social interactions. These researchers found that abused children initiated fewer positive interactions with peers and exhibited higher proportions of negative behaviors (e.g. withdrawal and aggression) than nonabused comparison children. Peers viewed abused children as less socially desirable, and they were less willing to reciprocate the initiations of abused children.

An interesting facet of these results is that the abused children in this group had been attending daycare for over a year. Therefore, although these children had exposure to alternative peer and adult role models, they continued to exhibit severe deficits in social interaction skills. These deficits place abused children at high risk for peer rejection. Constant rejection from peers can have significant effects on these children's already low self-esteem (see Ladd, 1989 for a review). Furthermore, several researchers have documented that active rejection from peers results in high self-reported feelings of loneliness in 5-7-year-olds (Cassidy & Asher, 1992). There is a definite need for intensive intervention programs aimed specifically at increasing the ability of abused children to interact successfully with others.

School Performance and Behavior Problems of Physically Abused School Age Children

Hoffman-Plotkin and Twentyman (1984) tested cognitive functioning and behavioral functioning in the classroom of 42 preschoolers with a history of severe abuse. Their results indicate that abused children have lower scores on cognitive functioning than controls. Abused children exhibit more aggressive and fewer prosocial interactions with their peers and teachers. Teachers and parents rate abused children significantly more negatively than normals. Teachers discipline the abused group more than nonabused children, and they report that abused children have inadequate social skills for "successful participation in the classroom."

In a longitudinal study (from birth to six years), Erikson and his colleagues found that maltreated children have significant emotional and social problems above and beyond problems related to low SES. Physically abused preschoolers display more aggressive, noncompliant, and acting-out behavior. They cannot organize or control their behavior effectively in problem-solving tasks. They function more poorly than controls on cognitive tasks, and they exhibit poor adjustment in the classroom (Erikson, Egeland, & Pianta, 1989).

Physical Abuse, Emotional Development, and Depression

Kazdin, Moser, Colbus, and Bell (1985) compared 33 physically abused and 46 nonabused child psychiatric inpatients (mean age, 10.4) on measures of depression, hopelessness, and self-esteem. They chose psychiatric inpatients as subjects because research indicates that the majority of these children come from high-risk families with many stressors, low SES, several children, parent social isolation, and limited education (Gelles, 1979; Gil, 1970; Straus, 1980). Using children from high-risk families in both the abused and the control group enabled Kazdin et al. to separate the effects of the abuse from the effects of family dysfunction. Furthermore, they could examine whether maltreatment compounds the risk for depression in children already diagnosed with other psychopathologies.[6] They found that physically abused children rated themselves lower on self-esteem, had more negative outlooks for the future, and demonstrated more depressive symptoms than psychiatric nonabused children. This effect was not due to race, sex, socioeconomic status, IQ, or severity of the psychopathology. They concluded that physical abuse, at least in psychiatric samples, is related to symptoms of depression.

In order to generalize the results of Kazdin et al. (1985) to children outside the psychiatric inpatient population, Allen and Tarnowski conducted a

---

[6] The psychopathologies the children were treated for included suicidal and homicidal ideations, destructive behaviors, psychotic episodes, anxiety disorders, conduct disorders, and attention deficit disorders.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

study in 1989. Their sample of 18 abused and 18 nonabused children did not include those who had suffered from neglect or sexual abuse. None of the children were psychiatric inpatients. Children in the nonabused control group were matched to abused subjects on criteria of age, SES, sex, and race. These researchers found that the abused group scored significantly higher than their matched controls on depression and hopelessness, and significantly below controls on measures of self-esteem. Furthermore, significantly more abused children had little belief in their ability to control external events. No significant differences emerged as a function of race, sex, age, or SES (Allen & Tarnowski, 1989).

Kinard's (1980) sample included 30 abused and 30 nonabused children, who were predominantly male (73.3%), white (90%), and receiving welfare from AFDC (70%). In response to self-report measurements, physically abused children differed significantly from controls in the areas of self-concept, aggression, socialization with peers, establishment of trust, and separation from the mother. In the area of self-concept, abused children rated themselves as significantly more sad, unhappy, unpopular, and poorly behaved.

Barahal, Waterman, and Martin (1981) found that abused children report little confidence in their power to control and shape their experiences--especially those that are unpleasant or frightening. In yet another study, the most striking finding of Martin and Beezley's (1977) assessment of 50 physically abused children was that over half of the abused children were not happy and had minimal ability to enjoy themselves in play or to interact socially with others.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Physical Abuse and Learned Helplessness

The results from the entire literature on the effects of physical abuse on development follow the reformulated theory of learned helplessness: children who possess an explanatory style that attributes negative outcomes to internal, stable, and global factors are at risk for helplessness deficits. Helplessness deficits include lower response initiative, cognitive deficits, sadness, lowered self-esteem, and lowered assertiveness. Physical abuse may affect the attributional styles and degree of helplessness of children through the noncontingent abusive acts themselves or through the parent-child interaction. Data from Seligman (1984) suggest that the mother's attributional style for negative events correlates with the explanatory style of her child. Furthermore, it is reasonable to propose that families whose discipline strategies combine punitive measures and negative character attributions towards the child are more likely to have children who blame social failure on internal and stable causes.

Summary

Because the presence of abuse will interact with other aspects of the child's environment, it is important to keep in mind that differences in individual, environmental, and interactional variables will produce differential outcomes in children. The following scenario conceptually ties together and summarizes the developmental effects significantly associated with physically abused children.

From the home environment, the abused child learns a pessimistic explanatory style for negative events and is instilled with the belief that he or she has little power to control what happens to him or her inside and outside the home. Also from the home, the child learns that aggression is an appropriate way to release frustration, to gain attention, or to gain power over others. Rigid and punitive parenting fails to develop empathy and prosocial interactions with others (DeKovic & Janssens, 1991), or to teach the child coping and conflict-resolution skills. Rather, through continual physical and emotional degradation at home, the child learns that he or she has little value, little autonomy, and little hope. This places the child in a precarious position at school. The abused child cannot interact effectively with others and is often rejected by peers. This rejection can lead to further aggression, social isolation., and extreme loneliness. Peer rejection also increases the risk for problem behaviors in the classroom, increasing the need for discipline and leading ultimately to rejection by the teacher. Feeling rejected by peers, the family, and teachers strips the abused child of his or her social support, which further increases feelings of worthlessness and helplessness. In the most extreme form this results in suicidal ideation or actual attempts. Pfeffer and Trad (1988) listed depression and history of abuse as significant risk factors associated with suicidal impulses in very young children.

Child Sexual Abuse

Physical and sexual abuse of children may appear to be widely divergent in cause and symtomatology; nonetheless, we believe there are parallels between them. Both are difficult to detect and remain largely unreported, both are clearly related to dysfunction in the family and in our society, and both are potentially devastating to the parties directly involved and to the future of our society. This section will present information on the nature and extent of the sexual abuse problem.

There are several arenas in which molestation can take place, but for our purposes, we will focus on intrafamilial sexual abuse, which includes incest and abuse by step-relatives and other family intimates such as mother's lovers. The sorts of sexual abuse which will not be discussed at length here are abuse that takes place in day care or school at the hands of teachers or other workers, abuse by other friends of the family, by older children or neighbors, and abuse by strangers.

Social and Legal Definitions

First of all, we need to clarify the definition of child sexual abuse. As with physical abuse, there is a certain amount of confusion about what constitutes sexual abuse. Rosenfeld (1977) wrote of a continuum of sexuality in the family ranging from incest and abuse at one extreme to affection, tenderness, and hygienic genital contact at the other. He argued convincingly that it is the intentions of the adult which are most crucial in determining abuse. The questions he suggested are; does the adult gain sexual stimulation, and would the adult mind if someone else knew about what he or she did/were doing? For the purposes of laws and research, however, intentions are irrelevant. We need definitions upon which we can base more objective judgments. Most researchers in this area seem to agree that oral-genital contact and both vaginal and anal intercourse between a child and his or her parent or another adult constitute child molestation. What is it, then, when a parent crosses over the line between drying off their child after a bath and fondling the child's genitals? The consensus in the literature is that this is, without doubt, abusive behavior. Further, does it make a difference in defining abuse if the perpetrator of the sexual contact is another child, perhaps only a few years older? Many researchers suggest a demarcation of 5 or 10 years difference in ages, but others argue that abuse perpetrated by siblings or other children can be just as devastating as abuse by adults. There is no agreement on this issue. The questions suggested by Rosenfeld may be helpful to concerned parents who are exploring these issues of sexuality, but they do not provide sufficient guidelines for social policies or legal statutes.

It is true that sexual activity between children and adults is a crime in every state. It is also the law in many states that doctors, teachers, psychologists, and others who have contact with children are required to report child sexual abuse. There are three categories of laws dealing with this area and they vary by state. First of all, most states have what are called statutory rape laws which make sexual intercourse with minors illegal. Thirty-four jurisdictions have included some measure of difference between the age of the victim and the age of the perpetrator in defining some or all sex offenses involving intercourse with minors (Bulkley & Kocen, 1981). Reform in this area of legislation has led to more explicit definitions of prohibited acts. Twenty-five states explicitly define sexual intercourse as vaginal intercourse, whereas others simply refer to it as "sexual intercourse"; four states still use the term "carnal knowledge." All states include anal and oral intercourse in their definition of prohibited acts, although only 42 mention these acts specifically; the other states refer to "deviate sexual intercourse" (Bulkley & Kocen, 1981).

Second, all states have some type of legislation that protects children "from 'indecent liberties,' 'lewd and lascivious acts,' or 'molestation.' These provisions cover sexual behavior other than sexual intercourse, such as the touching of the young child's private parts or genitals" (Bulkley & Kocen, 1981, p.3). Twenty-two states use some kind of age differential between victim and perpetrator in defining abusive sexual contact in these statutes.

The final category of laws regarding child sexual abuse comprises specific incest statutes. Every state except New Jersey[7] has incest statutes that prohibit sexual intercourse[8] and marriage between close relatives. These statutes punish both consenting and nonconsenting sexual intercourse; most ignore the ages of the parties involved. However, 45 states limit the criminal act of incest to vaginal intercourse (Bulkley & Kocen, 1981). This means that sexual contact involving oral or anal intercourse, and other sex acts not involving vaginal intercourse, cannot be prosecuted under incest laws in most states.

Incidence and Prevalence of Child Sexual Abuse

There are problems in estimating the incidence and prevalence of child sexual abuse, for two reasons. First, it is believed that the greatest number of cases are never reported. Russell (1983) found only 2% of intrafamilial abuse had ever been reported to police or other authorities (6% for extrafamilial). Second, those incidents which are reported are probably skewed in terms of demographic characteristics.

---

[7] Although incest laws have been repealed in that state, the American Bar Association reports that New Jersey has one of the most comprehensive criminal sexual offense laws protecting children.

[8] Minors are not protected from incestuous sexual intercourse in Michigan, New Hampshire, Ohio, Vermont, and Maine. Minors are protected in these states under other categories of sexual abuse laws.

Incidence refers to the number of cases of child sexual abuse reported within a specified period of time and, for this, the most recent and reliable data appear in the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect's 1986 study (NCCAN, 1988). The total incidence of child sexual abuse, according to this study, was 155,000 per year, of which 121,000 were cases of abuse perpetrated upon females and 34,300 upon males.[9]

Prevalence refers to the percentage of children ever victimized by such an experience, whether once or many times. The four studies which will be presented here have been conducted and reported within about the last ten years and have reasonably large samples. Two of these were done by Finkelhor (1979 and 1984), one by Russell (1983), and one by Wyatt (1985). The prevalence rates of these different studies are presented in Table 3. Even the lowest rates of 15% for women and 6% for men, indicate that an alarming percentage of American children, especially females, are at some time victims of some kind of sexual abuse. We will try to outline the differences in these studies that explain the huge discrepancy in rates, and also we will highlight the important variables in research in this area.

Finkelhor's first study (1979) was of a nonrandom sample of college undergraduates from six New England schools. There were 530 female and 266 male respondents, almost all of whom were white. The method was a self-administered questionnaire filled out in a classroom. He used a definition of sexual abuse that specified an age discrepancy between victim and perpetrator of at least 5 years for victims under 12 and at least 10 years for victims aged 13-16. Finkelhor's second study (1984) was of a random sample of parents in

---

[9] These figures include both intra- and extrafamilial abuse.

Table 3

Prevalence of Sexual Abuse: Four Studies Compared

Author	Contact Inter	 Extra	Contact and Noncontact Inter and Extra Familial
Finkelhor (1979)	------------------		Women 19%
			Men 9%
Finkelhor (1984)	------------------		Women 15%
			Men 6%
Russell (1983)			
>13 yrs	12%	20%	48%
>17 yrs	16%	31%	54%
Wyatt (1984)			
>13 yrs	17%	23%	47%
>17 yrs	21%	32%	62%

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Boston. There were 187 men and 334 women respondents. A similar format was used, although the second sample had a wider range of education and ethnicity. In the 1984 study he only specified a 5-year age discrepancy between victim and perpetrator. Neither study, then, represented a random sample of the overall U.S. population.

Russell's (1983) study was a random sample of women residents of San Francisco. There were 930 respondents and the data were collected in face-to-face interviews. Russell's definition of sexual included all types of unwanted or exploitive sexual experiences before the age of 17. She calculated rates using two criteria, one that specified contact abuse and one that also included non-contact abuse such as exposing, propositioning, and being forced to watch someone masturbate.

Finally, Wyatt's (1985) study was designed to collect representative samples of both white and African-American women living in Los Angeles; it comprised 126 African-American women and 122 white American women. Again, the method used was interview techniques. Wyatt's definition of sexual abuse was all types of contact and non-contact sexual abuse where there was an age discrepancy of 5 years and/or the sexual experience was not wanted and involved some degree of coercion.

It has been suggested that the higher rates of abuse found in the Russell and Wyatt studies are due to the interview technique, which may provide a more supportive environment in which to disclose incidents of sexual abuse. Both Russell and Wyatt drew upon samples which were designed to be more representative of the general population of American women, which is another difference from the Finkelhor studies. While it seems possible that the results of these four studies suggest regional differences in sexual abuse (e.g. New England versus California), Wyatt asked her respondents where they spent most of their childhood and determined that the rates of abuse for the 60% of her sample who were raised in California were identical to the rates for the 40% raised in other states. A more detailed analysis of regional differences using the nine regional designations of the US Census Bureau also failed to show evidence of regional variation. For a more complete discussion of the methodological issues in research on child sexual abuse see Wyatt and Peters (1986).

Race and Ethnicity

Differences between racial and ethnic groups in terms of the prevalence of sexual abuse have not been thoroughly examined but have been of interest to many researchers. Wyatt found a 10% lower rate of sexual abuse among African-American women but concluded that, overall, there were not significant differences between the populations. Russell had four ethnic groups represented in her sample (white, African-American, Asian, and Latino), which she compared in relation to rates of intrafamilial abuse. She did not find any differences between African-American and white women. She did find a 20% rate of incest for the Latino women, which was slightly larger (but not statistically significant) than the rate of 16% for the whole sample. In the specific case of father-daughter incest, Russell found a 7.5% rate for Latino women compared to the 4.5% rate for the sample as a whole. Russell's data did show statistically significantly lower rates for Asian and Jewish women, of whom only 8% and 10% respectively were incestuously victimized. Overall, however, these findings are not indicative of a significant ethnic or racial difference in sexual abuse rates.

Gender

Research indicates that clear distinctions can be made between male and female victims of sexual abuse. Finkelhor (1986) suggested, from the eight random samples he located which included men as well as women, that we might expect to find 2.5 female victims for every male victim, or 71% of all victims being female and 29% being male. Studies using samples of reported cases have found a much smaller population of male victims, approximately 16.5%. Perhaps because of the greater prevalence of sexual abuse of girls, most studies done in this area have focussed on girls and women. Male victims have, until recently, been largely ignored. From the scant evidence that is available, it appears that sexual abuse of boys starts at an older age, their abusers are younger than abusers of girls, and they are most often sexually abused by a person unrelated to them. Reinhart (1987) studied a sample of 189 male victims who had been treated at a particular hospital during a three-year period. Reinhart's sample was probably skewed to evidence more severe abuse and abuse at a younger age than the true population of sexually abused boys, because it is based on reported cases. For example, Reinhart found that most sexual abuse of boys occurred when the victims were between the ages of three and five, whereas Finkelhor's (1984) community study found the average age of onset of abuse for boys to be 11.2 years old (compared to 10.2 years old for girls).

In terms of gender characteristics of abusers, most studies have found that about 95% of the perpetrators of sexual abuse against both boys and girls were males. For boys, then, the homosexual nature of the contact may add to the stigma that inhibits reporting. About half of the victims in Reinhart's study were abused by relatives, if stepfathers and mothers' lovers are included in that category. The Russell (1983) study found that 4.5% of the women in the sample were molested by their fathers, which included 27 biological fathers, 15 stepfathers, 1 foster father, and 1 adoptive father. The only larger category was incestuous abuse by an uncle, which was reported by 4.9% of the sample. Finkelhor, on the other hand, reported a 1.3% father-daughter incest rate in his 1979 study. He commented, however, that

> [o]ne percent may seem to be a small figure, but if it is an accurate estimate, it means that approximately three-quarters of a million women eighteen and over in the general population have had such an experience, and that another 16,000 cases are added each year from among the group of girls aged five to seventeen. (1979, p.88)

If the Russell figure of 4.5% is accurate, it indicates about three million women over the age of 18 have been incestuously victimized, and that each year another 64,000 girls are molested by their fathers.

Theoretical Approaches to Understanding the Sexual Abuse of Children

Climate of Sexual Abuse

In incestuous families there are usually problems long before the incest occurs. It has often been reported that sexual abuse is more likely to occur if mothers are absent (Bagley & Ramsay, 1987; Finkelhor, 1984; Herman & Hirschman, 1981), if they are disabled or ill (Herman & Hirschman, 1981; Finkelhor, 1984; Peters, 1984), or if they do not have close relationships with their daughters (Bagley & Ramsay, 1987; Finkelhor, 1984; Landis, 1956; Miller, 1976; Peters, 1984). In fact, Peters (1984) found in her multivariate analysis that not being close to one's mother was the variable that was most predictive of sexual abuse.

There are also cases where the mother does not want to accept that her partner is committing incest, and she refuses to believe the daughter or, even worse, blames the daughter for the occurrence. Gomes-Schwartz, Horowitz, and Sauzier (1990) reported a study by the Family Crisis Program at Tufts New England Medical Center, with a sample of 156 families who had been referred for treatment, in which 18% of mothers took no action to protect their child after the sexual abuse was reported to them. Thirty percent of the mothers in their sample punished the child as a response to the sexual abuse. Twenty-three percent of the mothers showed some amount of anger towards the child because of the abuse. Similar findings of mothers' denial or misplaced reactions can be found in the case studies of Justice and Justice (1979), Goodwin (1982), Porter (1984), and Ward (1985).

Often, it is also the case that siblings in these families are discouraged from having close relationships with one another. This is another factor which makes the sexual abuse victim feel isolated and adds to the generally dysfunctional nature of the family (Bank & Kahn, 1982; Driver, 1989; Ward, 1985).

Identifying Abusers

A very important question is, who are the people that sexually molest children and why do they do it? Perpetrators in these cases can be categorized as pedophiles, that is, as adults who are predisposed to using children for sexual gratification, and the existence of that pathological state in the abuser is implied in all cases of sexual abuse of a child.

The most sophisticated and realistic approach to finding an explanation for child molestation is to suggest that there is a convergence of several factors that leads some people to sexually molest children. Four such factors have been categorized by Finkelhor (1986):

1. Emotional Congruence: the adult has an emotional need to relate to a child

2. Sexual Arousal: the adult becomes sexually aroused by a child

3. Blockage: alternative sources of sexual and emotional gratification are not available to the adult

4. Disinhibition: the adult is not deterred from such an interest by normal prohibitions

A review of the literature reveals mixed support for these four categories.[10] Howells (1979) gave support to the emotional congruence idea that children, because of their lack of dominance, have some special meaning for pedophiles. He found that issues of dominance and hierarchy were more important in the social relationships of child molesters than in those of normal controls.

Second, a number of experimental studies have established that sexual abusers do show an unusual pattern of sexual arousal by children, although there is no substantiated theory to explain this (Atwood & Howell, 1971; Freund 1967a, 1967b; Freund & Langevin, 1976; Freund, Langevin, Cibiri, & Zajac, 1973; Quinsey, Steinman, Bergensen, & Holmes, 1975). This age-inappropriate sexual response has not held true, however, for incest offenders, who often molest their sexually mature kin (Abel, Becker, Murphy, & Flanagan 1981; Quinsey,

---

[10] Unless otherwise noted, all the studies cited in this section concern sexual abusers in general and not just those who commit intrafamilial abuse (incest). Because the subject of these studies subsumes the topic of interest to us, we believe that in most cases the explanations are relevant to incest and other intrafamilial abuse.

Chaplin, & Carrigan, 1979). There is evidence from a variety of sources that many sexual abusers were themselves victims of sexual abuse as children, which might increase the likelihood of their being sexually aroused by children (Finkelhor, 1986). Child sexual abusers have been found to have had a significantly higher rate of childhood sexual contact than either normal controls (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, & Christenson, 1965; Groth, 1983; Groth & Burgess, 1979) or rapists (Seghorn, Binder, & Prentky, n.d.). Langevin, Handy, Hook, Day, and Russon (1985) found that 21% of incest offenders had had sexual contact with an adult male before the age of 12, compared to 10% of other kinds of sexual abusers and 4% of controls. One possible theoretical explanation for these findings is that people become abusers in order to master their own traumatic experiences and to identify with the power of their abusers.

Third, a number of studies have concurred that molesters are blocked in their social and heterosexual relationships; they are often found to be socially isolated and incompetent and to have problems relating to adult women (Anderson & Mayes, 1982; Fisher, 1969; Fisher & Howell, 1970; Gebhard et al., 1965; Groth, Hobson, & Gary, 1982; Mohr, Turner, & Jerry, 1964; Pacht & Cowden, 1974; Panton, 1978, 1979; Wilson & Cox, 1983). In many cases of incest, the offender is blocked form achieving a gratifying sexual relationship with his or her adult partner in the family (Cavallin, 1966; Cohen, Seghorn, & Calmas, 1969; Fitch, 1962; Gebhard et al., 1965; Groth, 1979; Peters, 1976).

Finally, alcohol has been well established as a disinhibiting factor in many sexual abuse cases, meaning that the offender was an alcoholic and/or drinking at the time of the offense (Aeries, et al., 1978; Gebhard et al., 1965; Rada, 1976; Stokes, 1964). Nonetheless, alcohol cannot entirely explain the ability of incest offenders to overcome the social stigma and taboo associated with the acts they perpetrate.

It is important to keep in mind that no single one of these characteristics by itself is sufficient to explain sexual abuse. For example, there are many men who are blocked in their sexual relationships or are having problems with their mates, but who do not turn to children in a sexual manner. Likewise, there are many men and women who were sexually abused as children who do not become sexual abusers as adults. The key to relating the climate of abuse to the characteristics of offenders is to remember that, first, an individual must be personally motivated to sexually abuse and, second, must overcome internal inhibitions against abusing. Only then do external factors, such as the relationship between the mother and child become relevant to a child's vulnerability to sexual abuse. In other words, it would be shortsighted to blame an unresponsive mother for the sexual abuse of her child, because that obscures the fact that the true causal responsibility for abuse lies with the offender.

Effects of Sexual Abuse on Child Development

This section will review literature on the behavioral and emotional problems associated with child sexual abuse.[11] Specifically, this review will cover studies documenting internalizing and externalizing problems (Friedrich, Urquiza, & Beilke, 1986) and inappropriate sexual behaviors (Brown & Finkelhor, 1986; Kolko, Moser, & Weldy, 1988) as well as feelings of fear, shame, guilt, helplessness, and depression (Bagley & Ramsay, 1986; Browne & Finkelhor, 1986; Elliot & Tarnowski, 1989; Kinard, 1982; Kriendler & Armstrong, 1983).

---

[11] This includes children who have been sexually victimized within and outside the immediate family. Because this paper emphasizes molestation within the family, specific reference will be made to those studies that have found more extreme developmental outcomes in cases of incest. In general, it is assumed that the effects of intrafamilial abuse are as great or greater than extrafamilial sexual abuse.

Effects of Child Sexual Abuse as Indicated By Behavior Checklists

Friedrich et al. (1986) used the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983) to evaluate the behavioral problems of 85 children (24 male, 61 female, mean age 6.2), who had been sexually abused within the previous 24 months. They found that 35% of the males and 46% of the females were significantly elevated on the internalizing scale, and that 36% of the males and 39% of the females had significantly elevated scores on the externalizing scale. Compared to the 2% base rate norm, these scores are highly deviant. Further analyses of the data concluded that the age of the child was an important factor: children younger than 5 were more internalizing; older children were more externalizing. The sex of the child also played a significant role: girls were more internalizing; boys were more externalizing. Finally, the more invasive the sexual acts, the longer the duration of the abuse, and the closer the relationship between the child and perpetrator, the greater the behavioral problems exhibited by the child.

Gomes-Schwartz et al. (1985) compared the severity of emotional distress among 112 sexually abused preschool, school-age, and adolescent children as indicated by parent ratings on the Louisville Behavior Checklist (Miller, 1981). The sample of abused children was compared to nonclinical and clinical controls. Children ages 4-6 demonstrated significantly more overall behavior disturbances compared to normal controls; however, they exhibited fewer behavioral problems than the clinical sample. Overall, 17% of the sexually abused preschoolers met clinical criteria for psychopathology; 20% exhibited severe deficits in intellectual, physical, and social development. Elementary school-age children showed significantly higher rates of disturbance than the sexually abused preschoolers and adolescents. Angry, destructive behavior characterized the elementary school children. Forty-five percent of sexually abused school-aged children also demonstrated severe fears in response to a wide range of situations.

A serious flaw with the methodology of both Gomes-Schwartz et al. (1985) and Friedrich et al. (1986) is that they used only maternal ratings of behavior problems. Because school-age children spend a lot of time away from home, mothers may not be best qualified to rate their entire behavior. Furthermore, in cases of incest, the mother may be experiencing high stress, depression, and extreme conflict with her intimate partner (the perpetrator). These conditions may decrease her ability to rate behaviors from a rational, objective viewpoint. To increase the validity and reliability of behavior checklist ratings, maternal ratings must be supplemented by reports by teachers, close family friends, relatives, or therapists.

Kolko et al. 1988) gathered a sample of 103 sexually abused psychiatric inpatients (73% males and 27% females, mean age 9.9 years; 72% white, 28% black). Their assessment of behavior problems was based on parent ratings (the Sexual Abuse Symptom Checklist) and frequency counts of related symptom categories during a three-week stay at the hospital (Hospital Chart Review). In contrast to Gomes-Schwartz et al. (1985), sexually abused children exhibited greater hypersexuality, fear, and anxiety in both the home and hospital environment relative to nonabused psychiatric inpatients. Symptoms of

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

hypersexuality included seductiveness, explicit sexual talk, sexual gestures with objects, sex play with peers, and sexual activity with peers. Symptoms of fear and anxiety included fears of being alone with unfamiliar people, discomfort in bathing and dressing, and fears of being touched.

Heightened sexual behavior has been documented in other studies as well. For example, Friedrich and Reams (1987) completed extensive clinical observations of 8 sexually abused young children (7 girls, 1 boy) for two years. Heightened sexualized behaviors observed in this sample included frequent public masturbation, sexual abuse of young siblings and friends, propositioning of adults, explicit sexual talk, and preoccupation with body parts and sexuality. The Tufts study (1984) included 156 sexually abused children (102 females and 54 males), who had been clinically referred. Results indicated that 27% of sexually abused 4-6-year-olds and 36% of 7-13-year-olds exhibited sexual behaviors significantly above general and clinical norms. These behaviors included open masturbation, excessive sexual curiosity, and exhibitionism.

Studies Combining Behavior Checklists and Self-Report Measures

Elliot and Tarnowski (1989) compared the emotional disturbances of 17 sexually abused children (white females, predominantly; mean age of 9.6 years; 18% were sexually abused by their fathers) with 17 matched controls. Results from the CBCL indicated that sexually abused children exhibited less social competence and had more internalizing problems compared to nonabused controls. Even though a small percentage of the children had scores in the clinical range (as compared to test standardization norms), the overall results from the behavior checklist did not fall into the deviant range. Furthermore, although

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

sexually abused children reported higher feelings of helplessness, depression, negative expectations for the future, social isolation, anxiety, and overall discontentment, differences in the sexually abused group's and control group's responses did not reach statistical significance. In general, their results failed to indicate that sexually abused children demonstrated significantly greater depressive characteristics than clinical samples.

Friedrich and Einbender (1987) found that self-report measures of sexually abused girls did not reflect greater depressive symptoms relative to a matched control group; however, the sexually abused group were rated by their mothers as having greater cognitive deficits, sexual preoccupation, and academic achievement problems relative to the normal population. Using a sample of 53 low SES, African American females (mean age 8.90) who had been genitally fondled by persons well-known to them, Shapiro, Leifer, Martone, and Kassem (1990) found that self-report measures did not reflect depressive symptoms, whereas maternal ratings did report greater internalizing problems compared to norms for the general population. Cohen and Mannarino (1988) examined 5 black and 19 white, sexually abused girls (mean age 8.7 years) from low to lower-middle SES. Only children who had been abused within the preceding six months were included. Statistical analyses on all self-report tests showed that scores failed to differ significantly from normal standardization samples. Similar to other studies, however, abused subjects were rated by their parents as being significantly more maladjusted that the control group on the scales of depressed, social withdrawal, somatic, schizoid-obsessive, hyperactive, sex problems, delinquent, aggressive cruel, internalizing, externalizing, and Total

Behavior Profile. In addition, they were rated less socially competent by their teachers on the School Subscale of the Total Social Competence Scale.

Measures used in a study by Wolfe, Gentile, and Wolfe (1989) included the CBCL (filled out by the mother) and several self-report measures on depression, anxiety, self-concept, attributional style, fears specific to sexual abuse, and traumatic events scales. Information was also collected about the sexual abuse severity and child adjustment. Their sample included 71 sexually abused children (mean age 9.9; referred by child protection agency; intra- and extrafamilial abuse; all participants were white; 82% were female; 42% experienced anal or vaginal penetration; all perpetrators were male and known to the child previous to the abuse). Results from the CBCL indicated that, compared to the general population, sexually abused children exhibited greater internalizing and externalizing behavior and lower social competence. With regard to symptoms on the CBCL that may be more specifically tied to sexual abuse (e.g. anxiety, fearfulness, poor concentration, nightmares, obsessive thoughts), sexually abused girls (ages 8-11) exceeded the normal score (.156) by nearly 1.3 standard deviations (.734). CBCL ratings were not compared to standard norms for clinical populations.

Responses on the Wolfe et al. (1989) self-report measures indicated that the majority of sexually abused children did not experience elevated levels of depressive symptoms, stigmatization, guilt, or negative sexualization compared to nonabused children. However, the majority of sexually abused children did report contending with several intrusive thoughts about the abuse which were triggered by frequent reminders. Individual differences in response to the sexual abuse depended on three mediating variables: severity of abuse, availability of social support, and attributional styles. Children who blamed themselves for the abuse and believed that they would be victimized again self-reported higher levels of sadness, stigmatization, and intrusive thoughts. Finally, severe abuse predicted negative feelings about sexuality. These results replicate earlier findings (Gold, 1986; Seidner & Calhoun, 1984; Silver, Boon, & Stones, 1983).

Making Sense of Conflicting Evidence

The discrepant results from the data on sexual abuse generate numerous questions about the actual impact of sexual abuse on children. The most significant of these discrepancies is that behavior checklists indicate that sexually abused children have significant behavioral, cognitive, and emotional problems, whereas self-report measures indicate few, if any negative effects of abuse. It seems counter-intuitive to conclude that young children do not suffer any negative effects from being sexually victimized. This section will offer several hypotheses to explain these contradictory findings.

One possibility is that these children deny their affective symptoms (Cohen & Mannarino, 1988; Shapiro et al., 1990). Being forced by their abusers to hide these experiences from peers and adults may lead sexually abused children to avoid expressing their feelings and to fear thinking about the abuse. In addition, clinical evidence suggests that sexually abused children often dissociate their "real self" from the child who suffers abuse (Coons, 1986). Coping with sexual trauma through dissociation may protect the child from the threatening emotions engendered by abuse.

A second hypothesis is that young children lack requisite cognitive abilities and experience to understand sexual abuse, and parents are typically unwilling to discuss sexuality with their children. No research has directly assessed what young children understand about sexual abuse. Nevertheless, it is generally assumed that young children have very incomplete knowledge about sexuality and the inappropriateness of their victimization. This limited understanding may, in fact, decrease the risk for emotional problems. Importantly, it may keep children from excessive rumination about the abuse (e.g., overwhelming thoughts about stigmatization, guilt, shame, and problems with their own sexuality). Analogously, self-awareness and rumination have been shown to predict severity and duration of depression in adults (see Nolen-Hoeksema, Seligman, & Girgus, 1991, for a review). Furthermore, because of the limited cognitive abilities of young children to introspect and report the content of their thoughts, self-report measurements may not be a valid instrument to use with young children.

The validity of maternal behavior ratings also needs to be evaluated. Mothers of sexually abused children may perceive their children more negatively as a result of the abuse (Cohen & Mannarino, 1988). Mothers may be overwhelmed and disgusted with the discovery of the abuse and, as a result, "see" their child behaving negatively because they expect him or her to exhibit problems. Furthermore, in cases of incest, the mother may be dealing with high stress, depression, extreme conflict with her intimate partner, and chaotic family life. These factors make it nearly impossible for her to make objective and valid assessments of her child's behavior. Therefore, the negative effects of sexual abuse assessed by maternal ratings may be exaggerated.

A final possibility is that the behaviors which caretakers rate on behavior checklists may not precisely correspond with those on self-report measures. Some researchers argue that behavior checklists measure overt behavioral problems, whereas self-report instruments measure internal and private responses. These aspects may not be highly related to each other (Kazdin, French, & Unis, 1983).

Any conclusion about the short-term effects of sexual abuse on child development must take into account the discrepancies found between behavior checklists and self-report responses. In the final analysis, it may be that the child's naive understanding of sexuality and the inappropriateness of the victimization, the limited ability to introspect, fear of discussing the abuse, and dissociation from the disturbing feelings about the abuse, all may be factors which contribute to the pervading sense of insecurity and confusion in the sexually abused child. Although the child may not be able to make sense of this inner turmoil or report its contents to researchers, this confusion may manifest itself in overt behavior problems.

Long-Term Consequences of Sexual Abuse

It may be difficult to separate out the long-term effects of incest from the long-term effects of the overall dysfunctional family environment. Nonetheless, it is clear that incest has devastating lifelong consequences. Often, sexually abused children are able to avoid dealing with their trauma until they reach adolescence or adulthood and are faced with issues of identity and intimacy. Findings of the long-term impact are particularly persuasive. Seven nonclinical studies of adults reported in Finkelhor (1986) (Bagley & Ramsay, 1986; Finkelhor, 1979; Fromuth, 1983; Peters, 1984; Russell, 1986; Sedney & Brooks, 1984; Seidner & Calhoun, 1984), which include three random sample community surveys, found that child sexual abuse victims in the "normal" population had identifiable degrees of impairment about twice as often as nonvictims. Although impairments in these nonclinical victims were not necessarily severe, all the studies that tested for long-term impairment did find it, with the exception of one (Tsai, Feldman-Summers, & Edgar, 1979). These impairments included depression, self-destructive behavior, anxiety, feelings of isolation and stigma, poor self-esteem, a tendency toward revictimization, and substance abuse.

Prevention and Intervention Strategies

Having considered the risk factors and consequent harms respectively associated with the physical and sexual abuse of children, we now shift our attention to the deceptively simple question: What can we do? The superordinate goal in designing any prevention or intervention strategy is to counteract the influences deemed as contributing to both the onset and maintenance of a given problem. The nature of child abuse, however, may overwhelm even the most hopeful and well-intentioned persons. It is therefore imperative, that we recognize, from the start, that there are no quick fixes or easy remedies to this problem. Effective and enduring change occurs gradually. It will happen only if we are passionately committed to protecting our society's children.

Child Physical Abuse Programs

Background

To tackle the problem of child abuse effectively, an underlying theory of causality should guide all stages of planning (Wald, 1988). To date, it is widely assumed that no single risk factor is likely to cause parents to physically harm their children. Rather, the problem now appears to be viewed through an ecological perspective. We therefore perceive physically abusive episodes as outcomes produced by a collection of influences that arise from individual, family, community, and societal origins.

Historically, programs attempting to mitigate adverse influences have generally taken one of the following prototypic forms: competency enhancement, onset prevention, or high-risk targeting (see Rosenberg & Reppucci, 1985 for a review). Competency enhancement programs include efforts to increase parenting skills, coping strategies, and assertive problem-solving skills, while also educating parents about developmental issues and alternative forms of discipline. These programs have largely resulted in immediate attitude changes and increased awareness regarding children's issues. It is uncertain, however, to what degree the imparted knowledge translates into more appropriate behavior.

Onset prevention is either a basic component of other existing programs, or is a distinct effort in its own right. These programs usually include crisis hot-lines, referral services, and media campaigns. Their purpose is to disseminate information to the public about the problem of child abuse and the services available to families. Ironically, the effect of increasing public awareness has resulted in a greater number of reported child abuse cases. Consequently, it is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of these efforts in preventing first-ever, or further, child abuse.

High-risk targeting has the advantage of narrowly tailoring prevention or intervention efforts to suit the characteristic needs of a population. Accordingly, these programs are often in a better position to use their resources more effectively, thereby reducing unforeseen costs (Wald, 1988). Because many factors may differentially combine to produce abuse, it is often difficult to determine which subgroup should be specifically targeted as "high risk." A useful strategy is to direct efforts at an entire community whose composition may include a number of at-risk persons (for example, parents who are isolated from social supports, have limited economic and human resources, experience high stress and dysfunctional marital relations, or who are the single-parent head of household).

Toward a New Community Program

We believe that a program aimed at improving the ability of abusive parents to effectively socialize and discipline their children would have the most far-reaching impact. Our intention is to develop a strategy that includes both intervention and prevention components designed to change abusive parenting styles, protect children, and rebuild the family unit.

Conducting a needs assessment must be our first task. Needs assessment is based upon the belief that effective programs include services that address the needs and characteristics of targeted communities (Neuber, 1980). Accordingly, it is a process of gathering information from a community to determine what services exist, and what others are needed. The goal is to facilitate the cooperative planning and delivery of specialized community services. Surprisingly, only one of the 55 state-run services existing in the nine San Francisco Bay area counties includes a needs assessment component (Office of Child Abuse Prevention, 1990).

Since the primary focus of this paper has been on violence precipitated by parents, we have chosen to focus specifically on intervention with the abusive parents. Before discussing the goals and format of this program, we want to review briefly the negative interaction patterns observed in abusive families. Relative to nonabusive parents, the child rearing practices exercised by abusive parents include: more inconsistent, intrusive, and commanding interactional styles; greater use of corporal punishment, force exertion, and lack of reasoning for the infraction of moral and conventional social rules; and a more limited and inflexible repertoire of alternative disciplinary strategies. In addition, abusive parents display greater negative affect and make more negative character attributions of their children (Oldershaw, Walters, & Hall, 1986; Trickett & Kuczynski, 1986). Even in the absence of physical beatings, these maladaptive interaction patterns are sufficient to maintain high levels of family dysfunction (Wolfe & Mosk, 1983). Therefore, we feel that a parent education program which addresses these interactional styles is the critical aspect of our intervention strategy. Only nine of the 55 state-run services in the San Francisco Bay area include classes in parenting skills (Office of Child Abuse Prevention, 1990).

Intervention Goals

There are four fundamental goals of this proposed program: (1) increase abusive parents' ability to positively socialize their children; (2) increase social support networks in the community; (3) revitalize community centers; and (4) increase parents' awareness of, and willingness to use, community services. For parents, this program includes four specific aims: (1) to increase their ability to discipline without using corporal punishment; (2) to increase their child's compliance; (3) to learn alternative coping and problem-solving strategies as well as anger management; and 4) to increase their collaboration with and positive reinforcement of their child(ren).

Description of the Proposed Program

This program could be based in community preschool child care and after-school care centers. It would consist of three levels of guided learning and application.

First level. Parenting skills classes should be made available to all parents in the community who share the common goal of improving their parenting; specifically, increasing their empathic responsiveness to, gaining the compliance of, and bettering their communication with their children. Abusive parents, however, would be court-mandated or clinically referred to the program, which should be organized and led by trained clinicians indigenous to the community. The aim would be to teach parents strategies for dealing with anger and frustration, what to expect, developmentally, of their children, and more flexible ways of managing and nurturing them. The actual content and format of these classes would be culturally sensitive and based on information collected from the needs assessment.

Second level. Parents who have been abusive to their children would be encouraged to work alongside of trained professionals as childcare assistants. Working within the community childcare system would allow abusive parents to practice new discipline and problem-solving skills with a variety of children under the guidance and support of trained professionals. Applying what they learn within a supportive environment would not only increase these parents' sense of confidence in their new parenting skills, but it should also increase their belief that these new skills are actually effective. As their skills increase, parents could be given increased responsibilities in the childcare center (e.g. planning activities). It would be important for trained professionals to underscore the value of the parents' input to the childcare program, thus raising the parents' esteem in the eyes of their peers.

Third level. Upon completing the skills class and training program, parents could have several options. One would be to use their newly acquired skills to help train new members in the program (at Level 1). Another would be to attend additional training seminars to become in-home parent aids. A third option would be to co-lead support groups for parents at high risk for abuse or to counsel stressed parents on telephone hot lines. Each of these options is aimed at further reinforcing learned skills, while simultaneously increasing parents' investment and sense of belonging in the community.

Concurrent Facets of the Program

1. During each level, groups of parents would meet with a trained professional in biweekly group seminars to discuss conflicts, difficulties, problems, and successes they have had while working at the childcare center and with their own children. These sessions would involve presentations by group members, discussion, question/answer periods, and role-play. The aim of these seminars is to broaden social support networks within the parenting community, to further enhance parenting skills, and to provide up-to-date feedback to the clinician about an individual parent's progress.

2. Special services need to be provided for reported abusive mothers who are pregnant. They could attend special seminars on prenatal care and infant development. In-home visitation by trained community volunteers (graduates of Level 3) should also be made available to them. The aim of in-home visitation

is to increase social support for those parents who are particularly socially isolated and to ensure that they are knowledgeable about necessary child care. The in-home volunteer serves as a bridge between these families and health services. Research suggests that even without professional intervention, support from an empathic, nonprofessional home visitor can enhance the development of secure attachments in at-risk infants (Jacobson & Frye, 1991).[12]

3. Parents at-risk for abusing their infants should be provided with infant-parenting classes that focus on increasing responsivity and attentiveness to their infants' cues, and on learning alternate coping strategies to use when confronted with difficult infant temperament. Research has demonstrated that when mothers are trained to be more responsive to their infants, the infants respond with increased cooperation and soothability. These parents should also receive in-home visitation care.

Timetable and Incentive System

Parents' expected time commitment to the program should be based on information from needs assessment in the community. For example, it may not be feasible for some single parents to work several hours a week as childcare assistants. However, we believe that this guided training is the most critical aspect of our program, because it combines strategies of intervention and prevention. Therefore, parents who do work in the childcare centers could be compensated with free day care for their children. Furthermore, the program could offer day and weekend respite care in exchange for increased time commitment.[13] These extra "time-offs" are valuable incentives for overwhelmed parents. The duration of the program would likely vary from person to person. It is recognized that many participants would have minimal time to devote to the program. These parents might only complete Level 1. Graduation to higher levels would depend upon improved skills and willingness to commit to a higher level of responsibility. We would not expect the majority of participants to reach Level 3.

---

[12] There are only three In-Home Parent Aid Programs in all of the nine San Francisco Bay area counties (Office of Child Abuse Prevention, 1990).

Evaluation of the Program

The main strategy for evaluation of this program would include the systematic collection of information on the rates of abuse in the community both before and after the initial implementation of the program. Additionally, follow-up interviews with clients would be needed to accurately assess the efficacy of the program in achieving its goals. Finally, physical abuse recidivism rates among program participants should be documented.

In conclusion, we want to emphasize that, beyond its primary focus this kind of program would create stronger community centers that citizens could take pride in. With time, it might be possible to make these centers self-supportive. Ultimately, our goal is that "graduate program members" would be principally responsible for operating this program.

Child Sexual Abuse Prevention Programs

It is our belief that in developing prevention and intervention programs, we must recognize the nature of child sexual abuse as a problem which needs to be addressed at all levels of our social system. In order to heal the wounds of sexual abuse, we must consider the needs of the survivors, the offenders, the involved families, and society as a whole. Intervention strategies primarily involve addressing the legal and therapeutic concerns of all involved. These are beyond the scope of our present effort; therefore, we concentrate on issues of prevention.

---

[13] Only six programs in all of the nine San Francisco Bay Area counties offer Respite Care (Office of Child Abuse Prevention, 1990).

Primary prevention of child sexual abuse, at the level of value change in a complex social structure, is possible only by modifying our basic assumptions concerning the status of children. Three components of contemporary socialization that support the continuation of child sexual abuse are (1) power imbalances between the sexes and between adults and children; (2) the sanctioning of sexual exploitation of children; and (3) the institutionalization of violence.

The prevention program we advocate here entails improving and expanding a model sexual abuse prevention program.[14] Through the public school system, we can hope to bring prevention information to most of the children in America between the ages of 5 and 13. We believe this would be an effective prevention strategy for three reasons. First, a large number of children appear to be potential victims of sexual abuse. Second, adults who were victimized as children often report that they might have been spared if they had been provided with basic information about the inappropriateness of the adult perpetrator's behavior (Wurtele, 1987). Third, Finkelhor's (1984) theory of sexual abuse states that abuse can only occur if the potential offender has some motivation to abuse, overcomes internal inhibitions and external impediments, and overcomes the child's resistance. Thus, a key variable in a child's vulnerability is that child's capacity to resist or avoid an abusive episode. Children who lack knowledge about inappropriate contact and who are deficient in personal safety skills are likely to be at high risk for sexual misuse. Therefore, we believe that a large-scale preventative approach, which teaches children the skills necessary for resisting a perpetrator, can potentially reach many children and may reduce the likelihood of abuse.

---

[14] California legislation (AB 2443) has funded child assault prevention programs throughout the state.

"Strategies for Free Children": A Model Program

The sexual abuse prevention program, "Strategies for Free Children," was developed in Columbus, Ohio in 1979 and is currently used throughout Ohio and California (Cooper, Lutter, & Phelps, 1983). We believe it provides an exemplary framework for a nationwide sexual abuse prevention program. After describing this program as it exists today, we will suggest several methods for improving its design. We believe these changes will increase its efficacy and cultural relevance within specific communities.

In "Strategies for Free Children," specially trained facilitators are brought into the schools to run the program, which includes separate workshops for teachers, parents, and children. The teachers' in-service and parents' workshops are conducted prior to the children's workshops. Each consists of a two-hour session which has the goal of identifying myths about child sexual assault and reviewing the content of the children's program. For example, adults are taught that in the majority of cases sexual abuse is committed not by a stranger but by a person in a position of primary trust, e.g. a family member, a neighbor, a babysitter, or a teacher.

The children's portion of the program consists of a two-hour workshop, in which they are taught strategies for preventing assault. These include self-assertion, standing up for the rights of others, and telling a trusted adult if an incident of abuse occurs. Role-plays and guided group discussion are used to give information about sexual abuse. The first role-play introduces the situation of a school bully who tries to steal money from another child. The second role-play uses a situation in which a child is approached and grabbed by a stranger. The third role-play involves a situation in which a child is approached by a trusted adult and asked to kiss or touch the adult. For each situation, the children are taught self-assertion skills and are given the permission to say no. They are also taught that they can help protect each other by, for instance, asking friends to help them confront a bully. In addition, children are taught self-protection skills, such as a self-defense yell, and are encouraged to tell an adult if an incident of abuse occurs.

Toward Improvement of Sexual Abuse Prevention Programs

In order to enhance the type of program described above, it would be necessary for each school, and even each classroom, to make appropriate modifications to suit designated groups of children. First, each program should present information and develop formats that are specific to children of different ages and cognitive levels. Second, programs must be sensitive to ethnic and cultural differences. For example, Crisci and Torres (n.d.) found that modifications in their prevention programs were necessary because the concept that children have the right to say no was a foreign one within the Puerto Rican culture they were targeting. Similarly, although assertiveness training usually includes teaching direct eye contact, Fay (n.d.), in reporting on prevention programs, noted that it is not useful to teach such skills to children whose cultural values dictate that direct eye contact with adults is rude.

Despite the fact that the program advocated here would be primarily one of personal safety rather than sex education, the issue of sexual terminology is still controversial and should be resolved on a community level in order to be most effective. Most programs avoid the use of anatomically correct terms when talking to children and instead refer to sexual organs as "private parts," "private zones," or "private areas of the body" (Wurtele, 1987). The consequences of resorting to such euphemisms are unknown. As Sanford (1980) has emphasized, abused children are often reluctant to disclose because they lack the vocabulary and background for discussing sex-related matters. Thus, avoiding the use of anatomically correct terms could put such children in further jeopardy. We would advocate the use of anatomically correct terms wherever the community would allow them.

Based on the high prevalence rates reported above (Table 3), program planners would need to anticipate the presence in their groups of previously abused children as well as children currently being abused. Programs should be designed to avoid making these children feel guilty or responsible for what has happened to them. Previously abused children need to hear that they are still okay even if they did not tell an adult at the time about being abused and that it is not too late to disclose and obtain assistance. Program leaders should remember that although teaching children strategies is their objective, it is important to avoid the message that children should respond in specific ways. Self-protection strategies should be viewed as optional skills for children to have. Children should never be made to feel responsible for protecting themselves or to feel guilty for not responding "appropriately."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Program Evaluation

Evaluation is always a critical component of every sexual abuse prevention program. It would be essential to systematically assess the effectiveness of each strategy and method utilized in order to ensure that the program is accomplishing its goals of reducing the risk of child sexual abuse. To this end, the facilitators of the program should administer questionnaires both before and after the program, to parents, teachers, and children. These questionnaires should have the goal of assessing the knowledge of all parties as to the definitions of sexual abuse, the facts concerning it, and the most effective ways for children to protect themselves in different abusive situations. Moreover, these evaluations would determine whether the children are experiencing increased anxiety or fear as a result of the program. Finally, the evaluation should assess overall communication: the best prevention program would open the way for all concerned parties to talk more openly with each other about this often secret problem.

Binder and McNiel (1987) studied "Strategies for Free Children" as it was used in a California school sample of 88 children ages 5-12. They found no negative emotional effects on the children despite the potential for increased fear or anxiety with this type of program. Furthermore, the children's knowledge was increased and they reported feeling safer and more capable of defending themselves after the program. A final positive finding was that parents reported that the program made it easier for them to talk with their children about this difficult subject. This finding stresses the importance of involving and informing parents in prevention programs. The type of prevention program we propose would not only support children in learning about sexual abuse but it would also provide parents with a heightened awareness that could further help them protect their children from potentially abusive situations.

Conclusion

We believe that all intervention and prevention programs achieve their goals through a process of incremental change. As has been reiterated throughout this paper, the physical and sexual abuse of children is deeply ingrained in our social fabric. It is, therefore, unrealistic to expect immediate solutions to problems with such a longstanding history. Nonetheless, the horrific nature of the crimes perpetrated against defenseless members of our society commands us to take decisive action. Through the inadequacies of past social policies and the neglectful priorities of our government, we have failed in our pressing responsibilities to our children, in more than one arena. It is imperative that we initiate serious measures to end the senseless suffering of so many vulnerable American children, especially when we know it is largely in our power to do so.

References

Aarens, M. et al. (1978). *Alcohol, casualties, and crime*. Berkeley, CA: Social Research Group.

Abel, G. et al. (1981). Identifying dangerous child molesters. In R. Stuart (Ed.), *Violent behavior*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Abramson, L., Seligman, M., & Teasdale, J. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *87*, 49-74.

Achenbach, T.M., & Edelbrock, C.S. (1983). *Manual for the child behavior checklist and revised child behavior profile*. Vermont: University Associates in Psychiatry.

Ainsworth, M.D.S. (1982). Attachment: Retrospect and prospect. In C.M. Parkes & J. Stevenson-Hinde (Eds.), *The place of attachment in human behavior*. New York: Basic Books.

Ainsworth, M.D.S., Blehar, M.C., Waters, E., & Wall, S.N. (1978). *Patterns of attachment*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Allen, D., & Tarnowski, K. (1989). Depressive characteristics of physically abused children. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *17*, 1-11.

American Association for Protecting Children (AAPC) (1988). *Highlights of official child neglect and abuse reporting 1986*. Denver: American Humane Association.

Anderson, C., & Mayes, P. (1982). Treating family sexual abuse: The humanistic approach. *Journal of Child Care*, *1*, 41-46.

Attili, G. (1989). Social competence versus emotional security: The link between home relationships and behavior problems in school. In B. Schneider, G. Attili, J. Nadel, & R. Weissberg (Eds.), *Social competence in developmental perspective*. The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Atwood, R., & Howell, R. (1971). Pupillometric and personality test scores of female aggressing, pedophiliacs and normals. *Psychonomic Science*, *22*, 115-116.

Azer, S.T., Robinson, D.R., Hekimian, E., & Twentyman, C.T. (1984). Unrealistic expectations and problem solving ability in maltreating and comparison mothers. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *52*, 687-691.

Bagley, C., & King, K. (1990). *Child sexual abuse: The search for healing*. New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc.

Bagley, C., & Ramsay, R. (1987). Disrupted childhood and vulnerability to sexual assault: Long-term sequels with implications for counseling. Social Work and Human Sexuality.

Bandura, A. (1973). Aggression: A social learning analysis. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bank, S., & Kahn, M. (1982). The sibling bond. New York: Basic Books.

Barahal, R., Waterman, J., & Martin, H. (1981). The social-cognitive development of abused children. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 49, 508-516.

Bauer, W.D., & Twentyman, C.T. (1985). Abusing, neglectful, and comparison mothers' responses to child-related and non-child-related stressors. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53, 335-343.

Belsky, J. (1980). Child maltreatment: An ecological integration. American Psychologist, 35, 320-335.

Besharov, D.J. (1981). Toward better research on child abuse and neglect: Making definitional issues an explicit methodological concern. Child Abuse and Neglect, 5, 383-390.

Binder R., & McNiel, D. (1987). Evaluation of a school-based sexual abuse prevention program: Cognitive and emotional effects. Child Abuse and Neglect, 11, 497-506.

Blumberg, M.L. (1974). Psychopathology of the abusing parent. American Journal of Psychotherapy, 28, 21-29.

Bowlby, J. (1969). Attachment and loss, Vol. I: Attachment. New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1973). Attachment and loss, Vol. II: Separation. New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1980). Attachment and loss, Vol. III: Loss, sadness, and depression. New York: Basic Books.

Brassard, M.R., Tyler, A., & Kehle, T.J. (1983). Sexually abused children: Identification and suggestions for intervention. School Psychological Review, 12, 93-97.

Bretherton, I. (1985). Attachment theory: Retrospect and prospect. In I. Bretherton & E. Waters (Eds.), Growing points of attachment theory and research. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 50, (1-2, Serial No. 209).

Browne, A., & Finkelhor, D. (1986). Impact of child sexual abuse: A review of the research. Psychological Bulletin, 99, 66-77.

Bulkley, J., & Kocen, W. (Eds.) (1981). Child sexual abuse and the law. Washington, DC: American Bar Association.

Burgess, A., Groth, A., Holmstrom, L., & Sgroi, S. (1978). Sexual assault of children and adolescents. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Caplan, G. (1974). Support systems and community mental health. New York: Behavioral Publications.

Cassidy, J., & Asher, S.R. (1992). Loneliness and peer relations in young children. Child Development, 68, 350-365.

Cavallin, H. (1966). Incestuous fathers: A clinical report. American Journal of Psychiatry, 122, 1132-1138.

Child assault and prevention project (1983). Strategies for Free Children. CAPP, P.O. Box 0208, Columbus, OH 43202.

Cohen, J., & Mannarino, A. (1988). Psychological symptoms in sexually abused girls. Child Abuse and Neglect, 12, 571-578.

Cohen, M., Seghorn, T., & Calmas, W. (1969). Sociometric study of the sex offender. Journal of Abnormal Psychiatry, 74, 249-255.

Cohn, J.F., & Tronick, E.Z. (1981). Communicative rules and the sequential structure of infant behavior during normal and depressed interaction. In E.Z. Tronick (Ed.), Social interchange in infancy: Affect, cognition, and communication. Baltimore, MD: University Park Press.

Coie, J.D., Dodge, K.A., & Kupersmidt, J.B. (1990). Peer group behavior and social status. In S.R. Asher & J.D. Coie (Eds.), Peer rejection in childhood. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Conte, J., & Schuerman, J. (1987). Factors associated with an increased impact of child sexual abuse. Child Abuse and Neglect, 11, 201-212.

Cook, M., & Howell, K. (1981). Adult sexual interest in children. San Francisco: Academic Press.

Coons, P.M. (1986). Child abuse and multiple personality disorder: Review of the literature and suggestions for treatment. Child Abuse and Neglect, 10, 455-462.

Cooper, S., Lutter, Y., & Phelps, C. (1983). Strategies for free children: A leader's guide to child assault prevention. Youngstown, OH: Ink Well Press.

Crisci, G., & Torres, M. (n.d.) Child sexual abuse prevention project in an Hispanic community. In M. Nelson & K. Clark (Eds.), The educator's guide to preventing child sexual abuse, pp. 114-121.

Crittendon, P.M. (1985). Maltreated infants: Vulnerability and resilience. Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 26, 85-96.

DeFrancis, V. (1969). Protecting the child victim of sex crimes committed by adults. Denver: American Humane Association.

DeFrancis, V., & Lucht, C.L. (1974). Child abuse legislation of the 1970's. Denver: American Humane Association.

DeKovic, M., & Janssens, J.M. (1991). Child rearing behavior and peer acceptance. Kind en Adolescent, 12, 65-77.

Driver, E., & Droisen, A. (Eds.) (1989). Child sexual abuse: A feminist reader. New York: New York University Press.

Dube, R., & Herbert, M. (1988). Sexual abuse of children under 12 years of age: A review of 511 cases. Child Abuse and Neglect, 12, 321-330.

Egeland, B. (1983). Comments on Kopp, Krakow, and Vaughn's chapter. In M. Perlmutter (Ed.), Minnesota symposium in child psychology, 16. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Egeland, B., & Sroufe, A. (1981). Developmental sequelae of maltreatment in infancy. In R. Rizley & D. Cicchetti (Eds.), Developmental perspectives on child maltreatment, number 11, New Directions for Child Development, 77-92.

Elder, G. (1977). Family history and the life course. Journal of Family History, 2, 279-304.

Elliot, D., & Tarnowski, K. (1990). Depressive characteristics of sexually abused children. Child Psychiatry and Human Development, 21, 37-48.

Erikson, M., Egeland, B., & Pianta, R. (1989). The effects of maltreatment on the development of young children. Child Maltreatment, 647-684.

Factor, D.C., & Wolfe, D.A. (1990). Parental psychopathology and high-risk children. In R.T. Ammerman & M. Hersen (Eds.), Children at risk: An evaluation of factors contributing to child abuse and neglect (pp. 171-198). New York: Plenum Press.

Fay, J. (n.d.) Guidelines for selecting prevention education resources. In M. Nelson & K. Clark (Eds.), The educator's guide to preventing child sexual abuse, pp. 98-102.

Finkelhor, D. (1984). Child sexual abuse: New theory and research. New York: Free Press.

Finkelhor, D. (1979). Sexually victimized children. New York: Free Press.

Finkelhor, D. et al. (1986). A sourcebook on child sexual abuse. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Fisher, G. (1969). Psychological needs of heterosexual pedophiliacs. *Diseases of the Nervous System*, *30*, 419-421.

Fisher, G., & Howell, L. (1970). Psychological needs of homosexual pedophiliacs. *Diseases of the Nervous System*, *31*, 623-625.

Fitch, J. (1962). Men convicted of sexual offenses against children: A descriptive follow-up study. *British Journal of Criminology*, *3*, 18-37.

Freund, K. (1967a). Diagnosing homo- or heterosexuality and erotic age-preference by means of a psychophysiological test. *Behavioral Research and Therapy*, *5*, 209-228.

Freund, K. (1967b). Erotic preference in pedophilia. *Behavioral Research and Therapy*, *5*, 339-48.

Freund, K., & Langevin, R. (1976). Bisexuality in homosexual pedophilia. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *5*, 415-423.

Freund, K., Langevin, R., Cibiri, S., & Zajac, Y. (1973). Heterosexual aversion in homosexual males. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, *122*, 163-169.

Friedrich, W., & Boriskin, J. (1976). The role of the child in abuse: A review of the literature. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *46*, 580-590.

Friedrich, W.N., & Einbender, A.J. (1983). The abused child: A psychological review. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, *12*, 244-256.

Friedrich, W.N., & Reams, R. (1987). Course of psychological symptoms in sexually abused young children. *Psychotherapy*, *24*, 160-170.

Friedrich, W. N., Urquiza, A.J., & Beilke, R.L. (1986). Behavior problems in sexually abused young children. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology*, *11*, 47-57.

Fromuth, M. (1983). *The long-term psychological impact of childhood sexual abuse*. Unpublished, quoted in Finkelhor, D. et al., 1986.

Fromuth, M.. (1986). The relationship of childhood sexual abuse with later psychological and sexual adjustment in a sample of college women. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, *10*, 5-15.

Gaines, R., Sandgrund, A., Green, A.H., & Power, E. (1978). Etiological factors in child maltreatment: A multivariate study of abusing, neglecting and normal mothers. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *87*, 531-540.

Galdston, R. (1965). Observations on children who have been physically abused and their parents. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *122*, 440-443.

Garbarino, J. (1987). Children's responses to a sexual abuse prevention program. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, *11*, 143-148.

Garbarino, J. (1977). The human ecology of child maltreatment: A conceptual model for research. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 39, 721-735.

Garbarino, J. (1976). A preliminary study of some ecological correlates of child abuse: The impact of socioeconomic stress on mothers. Child Development, 47, 178-185.

Garbarino, J., & Crouter, A. (1978). Defining the community context of parent-child relations: The correlates of child maltreatment. Child Development, 49, 604-616.

Garbarino, J., & Gilliam, G. (1980). Understanding abusive families. Lexington, MA: Heath and Company.

Gebhard, P., Gagnon, J. Pomeroy, W., & Christenson, C. (1965). Sex offenders: An analysis of types. New York: Harper & Row.

Gelles, R.J. (1973). Child abuse as psychopathology: A sociological critique and reformation. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 43, 611-621.

Gelles, R.J., & Straus, M.A. (1988). Intimate violence. New York: Simon & Schuster.

George, C., & Main, M. (1979). Social interactions of young abused children: Approach, avoidance, and aggression. Child Development, 50, 306-318.

Gil, D.G. (1975). Unraveling child abuse. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 45, 346-356.

Gil, D.G. (1970). Violence against children: Physical child abuse in the United States. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Giovannoni, J.M., & Becerra, R.M. (1979). Defining child abuse. New York: Free Press.

Gold, E.R. (1986). Long-term effects of sexual victimization in childhood: An attributional approach. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 54, 471-475.

Gomes-Schwartz, B., Horowitz, J., & Cardarelli, A. (1990). Child sexual abuse: The initial effects. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Gomes-Schwartz, B., Horowitz, J., & Sauzier, M. (1985). Severity of emotional distress among sexually abused preschool, school-age, and adolescent children. Hospital and Community Psychiatry, 36, 503-508.

Goodwin, J. (1982) Sexual abuse: Incest victims and their families. Boston: PSG Inc.

Graham, H. (1980). Mothers' accounts of anger and aggression towards their babies. In N. Frude (Ed.), *Psychological approaches to child abuse*. Great Britain: Billing & Son, Ltd.

Groth, N. (1979). *Men who rape*. New York: Plenum.

Groth, N. (1983). Treatment of the sexual offender in a correctional institution. In J. Greer & I. Stuart (Eds.) *The sexual aggressor: Current perspectives on treatment* (pp. 160-176). New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Groth, N., & Burgess, A. (1979). Sexual trauma in the life histories of rapists and child molesters. *Victimology: An International Journal*, *4*, 10-16.

Groth, N., Hobson, W., & Gary, T. (1982). The child molester: Clinical observations. In J. Conte & D. Shore (Eds.), *Social work and child sexual abuse*. New York: Haworth.

Hammen, C., & Zupan, B. (1984). Self-schemas, depression, and the processing of personal information in children. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*, *37*, 598-608.

Haskett, M.E., & Kistner, J.A. (1991). Social interactions and peer perceptions of young physically abused children. *Child Development*, *62*, 979-990.

Herman, J. (1981). *Father-daughter incest*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Herman J., & Hirschman, L. (1981). Families at risk for father-daughter incest. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *138*, 967-970.

Hoffman-Plotkin, D., & Twentyman, C.T. (1984). Cognitive deficits in abused and neglected preschoolers. *Child Development*, *55*, 794-802.

Howells, K. (1979). Some meanings of children for pedophiles. In M. Cook & F. Wilson (Eds.), *Love and attraction*. London: Pergamon.

Jacobson, S.W., & Frye, K.F. (1991). Effect of maternal social support on attachment: Experimental evidence. *Child Development*, *62*, 572-582.

Jampole, L., Weber, M. (1987). An assessment of the behavior of sexually abused and nonsexually abused children with anatomically correct dolls. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, *11*, 187-192.

Justice, B., & Justice, R. (1979). *The broken taboo*. New York: Human Sciences Press.

Kashani, Shekim, Burk, & Beck (1987). Abuse as a predictor of psychopathology. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, *16*, 43-50.

Katz, S. (1971). When parents fail: The law's response to family breakdown. Boston: Beacon Press.

Kazdin, A.E., French, M.H., & Unis, A.S. (1983). Child, mother, and father evaluations of depression in psychiatric inpatient children. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 11, 167-180.

Kazdin, A.E., Moser, J., Colbus, D., & Bell, R. (1985). Depressive symptoms among physically abused and psychiatrically disturbed children. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 94, 298-307.

Kelly, J.A. (1990). Treating the child abuser. In R.T. Ammerman & M. Hersen (Eds.), Children at risk: An evaluation of factors contributing to child abuse and neglect (pp. 269-287). New York: Plenum Press.

Kendall-Tackett, K., & Simon, A. (1987). Perpetrators and their acts: Data from 365 adults molested as children. Child Abuse and Neglect, 11, 237-246.

Kinard, E.M. (1980). Emotional development in physically abused children. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 50, 686-696.

Kinard, E.M. (1982). Experiencing child abuse: Effects on emotional adjustment. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 52, 82-91.

Kolko, D.J., Moser, J.T., & Weldy, S.R. (1988). Behavioral/ emotional indicators of sexual abuse in child psychiatric inpatients: A controlled comparison with physical abuse. Child Abuse and Neglect, 12, 529-541.

Korbin, J. (1980). The cultural context of child abuse and neglect. Child Abuse and Neglect, 4, 3-13.

Kovacs, M. (1985). The children's depression inventory. Psychopharmacology Bulletin, 21, 437-457.

Kovacs, M., & Beck, A.T. (1977). An empirical-clinical approach toward a definition of childhood depression. In J.G. Schulterbrandt & A. Raskin (Eds.), Depression in childhood: Diagnosis, treatment, and conceptual models. New York: Raven Press.

Koverola, A. (1989). Initial impact of child sexual abuse: An empirical investigation. Dissertation Abstracts International, 50 (4-B): 1648.

Krause, H.D. (1977). Family law in a nutshell. St.Paul, MN: West Publishing Co.

Kriendler, S., & Armstrong, H. (1983). The abused child and the family. In P. Steinhauer & Q. Rae-Grant (Eds.), Psychological problems of the child in the family. New York: Basic Books.

LaFontaine, J. (1990). Child sexual abuse. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Ladd, G.W. (1989). Children's social competence. In B. Schneider, G. Attili, J. Nadel, & R. Weissberg (Eds.), Social competence in developmental perspective. The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Lamb, M., Gaensbauer, T., Malkin, C., & Schultz, L. (1985). The effects of child maltreatment on security of infant-adult attachment. Infant Behavior and Development, 8, 35-45.

Lamphear, V.S. (1985). The impact of maltreatment on children's psychosocial adjustment: A review of the research. Child Abuse and Neglect, 9, 251-263.

Landis J. (1956). Experiences of 500 children with adult sexual deviants. Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement, 30, 91-109.

Langevin, R., Handy, L., Hook, H., Day, D., & Russon, A. (1985). Are incestuous fathers pedophilic and aggressive? In R. Langevin (Ed.), Erotic preference, gender identity and aggression. New York: Erlbaum.

Larrance, D.T., & Twentyman, C.T. (1983). Maternal attributions and child abuse. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 92, 449-457.

Mannarino, A., & Cohen, J. (1986). A clinical-demographic study of sexually abused children. Child Abuse and Neglect, 10, 17-23.

Martin, H.P., & Beezley, P. (1977). Behavioral observations of abused children. Developmental Medicine in Child Neurology, 19, 373-387.

Martin, H.P., & Beezley, P. (1976). Personality of abused children. In H. Martin (Ed.), The abused child. Ballinger Press.

Meiselman, K. (1978). Incest. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mian, M. et al. (1986). Review of 125 children 6 years of age and under who were sexually abused. Child Abuse and Neglect, 10, 223-229.

Miller, L.C. (1981). Louisville behavior checklist. Los Angeles: Western Psychological Services.

Miller, P. (1976). Blaming the victim of child molestation: An empirical analysis. (Doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University). Dissertation Abstracts International. (University Microfilms No. 77-10069).

Milner, J.S., & Wimberely, R.C. (1980). Prediction and explanation of child abuse. Journal of Clinical Psychology 36, 875-884.

Mohr, I., Turner, R., & Jerry, M. (1964). Pedophilia and exhibitionism. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mrazek P.J., & Mrazek, D.A. (1987). Resilience in child maltreatment victims: A conceptual exploration. Child Abuse and Neglect, 11, 357-366.

National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) (1983). State child abuse and neglect laws: A comparative analysis. Washington, DC: US Department of Health and Human Services.

National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) (1981). Study findings: National study of the incidence and severity of child abuse and neglect (DHHS publication No. OHDS 81-30325). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) (1988). Study findings: Study of the national incidence and prevalence of child abuse and neglect: 1988. Washington, DC: US Department of Health and Human Services.

National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) (1977). Child abuse and neglect programs: Practice and theory. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Neuber, K.A. (1980). Needs Assessment: A model for community planning. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Newberger, E.H., Newberger, C.M., & Hampton, R.L. (1983). Child abuse: The current theory base and future research needs. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 22, 262-268.

Newman, M.R., & Lutzker, J.R. (1990). Prevention programs. In R.T. Ammerman & M. Hersen (Eds.), Children at risk: An evaluation of factors contributing to child abuse and neglect (pp. 225-248). New York: Plenum Press.

Nolen-Hoeksema, S. (1991). Responses to depression and their effects on the duration of depressive episodes. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 100, 1-14.

Nolen-Hoeksema, S., Seligman, M., & Girgus, J. (1986). Learned helplessness in children: A longitudinal study of depression, achievement, and explanatory style. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54, 435-442.

Nolen-Hoeksema, S., Seligman, M., & Girgus, J. (unpublished). Predictors and consequences of childhood depressive symptoms: A five-year longitudinal study.

Nowicki, S., & Strickland, B.R. (1973). A locus of control scale for children. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 40, 1-8.

Office of Child Abuse Prevention (OBAP) (1990). Report to the legislature and governor. California Health and Welfare Agency, Department of Social Services.

Oldershaw, L., Walters, G.C., & Hall, D.K. (1986). Control strategies and noncompliance in abusive mother-child dyads: An observational study. Child Development, 57, 722-732.

Pacht, A., & Cowden, J. (1974). An exploratory study of five hundred sex offenders. Criminal Justice and Behavior, 1, 13-20.

Pagelow, M.D. (1984). Family violence. New York: Praeger.

Panton, J. (1979). MMPI profile configurations associated with incestuous and non-incestuous child molesting. Psychological Reports, 45, 335-338.

Panton, J. (1978). Personality differences appearing between rapists of adults, rapists of children, and non-violent sexual molesters of children. Research Communications in Psychology, Psychiatry and Behavior, 3, 385-393.

Parke, R.D., & Collmer, C.W. (1975). Child abuse: An interdisciplinary analysis. In E.M. Hetherington (Ed.), Review of Child Development Research, vol. 5 (pp. 509-590). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pastor, D.L. (1981). The quality of mother-infant attachment and its relationship to toddlers' initial sociability with peers. Developmental Psychology, 17, 323-335.

Peters, J. (1976). Children who are victims of sexual assault and the psychology of offenders. American Journal of Psychotherapy, 30, 395-421.

Peters, S. (1984). The relationship between childhood sexual victimization and adult depression among Afro-American and white women. (Doctoral dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles). Dissertation Abstracts International. (University Microfilms No. 84-28, 555).

Pfeffer, C., & Trad, P. (1988). Sadness and suicidal tendencies in preschool children. Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics, 9, 86-88.

Piers, E., & Harris, D. (1969). The Piers-Harris children's self-concept scale. Tennessee Counselor Recordings and Tests.

Porter, R. (Ed.) (1984). Child sexual abuse within the family. New York: Tavistock Publications.

Quinsey, V., Chaplin, T., & Carrigan, W. (1979). Sexual preferences among incestuous and non-incestuous child molesters. Behavior Therapy, 10, 562-565.

Quinsey, V., Steinman, C., Bergensen, S., & Homes, T. (1975). Penile circumference, skin conduction, and ranking responses of child molesters and 'normals' to sexual and nonsexual visual stimuli. Behavior Therapy, 6, 213-219.

Rada, R. (1976). Alcoholism and the child molester. Annals of New York Academy of Science, 273, 492-496.

Reinhart, M. (1987). Sexually abused boys. Child Abuse and Neglect, 11, 229-236.

Rosenberg, M.S., & Reppucci, N.D. (1985). Primary prevention of child abuse. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53, 576-585.

Rosenfeld, A. (1977). Sexual misuse and the family. Victimology, 2, 226-235.

Rosenzweig, S. (1948). Rosenzweig picture-frustration study (Form for children). St. Louis, Missouri.

Russell, D. (1983). The incidence and prevalence of intrafamilial and extrafamilial sexual abuse of female children. Child Abuse and Neglect, 7, 133-146.

Russell, D. (1986). The secret trauma: Incest in the lives of girls and women. New York: Basic Books.

Russell, D. (1984). Sexual exploitation. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Sacco, W.P., & Graves, D.J. (1985). Correspondence between teacher ratings of childhood depression and child self-ratings. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 14, 353-355.

Sanford, L. (1980). The silent children: A parent's guide to the prevention of child sexual abuse. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Schetky, D., & Green, A. (1988). Child sexual abuse: A handbook for health care and legal professionals. New York: Brunner/Mazel Publishers.

Schneider-Rosen, K., & Cicchetti, D. (1984). The relationship between affect and cognition in maltreated infants: Quality of attachment and the development of visual self-recognition. Child Development, 55, 648-658.

Sedney, M., & Brooks, B. (1984). Factors associated with a history of childhood sexual experience in a nonclinical female population. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 23, 215-218.

Seghorn, T., Binder, R., Prentky, R. (n.d.) Childhood sexual abuse in the lives of sexually aggressive offenders. Bridgewater: Massachusetts Treatment Center (Box 544).

Seidner, A., & Calhoun, K. (1984). Childhood sexual abuse: Factors related to differential adult adjustment. Paper presented at the Second Annual National Conference of Family Violence Researchers, Durham, NH.

Seligman, M., Kaslow, N., Alloy, L., Peterson, C., Tanenbaum, R., & Abramson, L. (1984). Attributional style and depressive symptoms among children. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 93, 235-238.

Shapiro, J., Leifer, M., Martone, M., & Kassem, L. (1990). Multimethod assessment of depression in sexually abused girls. Journal of Personality Assessment, 55, 234-248.

Silver, R.L., Boon, C., & Stones, M.H. (1983). Searching for meaning in misfortune: Making sense of incest. Journal of Social Issues, 39, 81-102.

Smith, H., & Edie, I. (1987) Sibling incest: A study of the dynamics of 25 cases. Child Abuse and Neglect, 11, 101-108.

Spinetta, J.J. (1978). Parental personality factors in child abuse. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 46, 1409-1414.

Sroufe, L.A. (1979). Socioemotional development. In J. Osofsky (Ed.), Handbook of infant development. New York: Wiley.

Sroufe, L.A., Schork, E., Motti, E., Lawroski, N., & LaFreniere, P. (1984). The role of affect in emerging social competence. In C. Izard, J. Kagan, & R. Zajonc (Eds.), Emotion, cognition, and behavior. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Starr, R.H., Jr. (1982). A researched-base approach to the prediction of child abuse. In R.H. Starr, Jr. (Ed.), Child abuse prediction: Policy implications (pp. 105-134). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

Starr, R.H., Jr., Dubowitz, H., & Bush, B.A. (1990). The epidemiology of child maltreatment. In R.T. Ammerman & M. Hersen (Eds.), Children at risk: An evaluation of factors contributing to child abuse and neglect (pp.23-53). New York: Plenum Press.

Steele, B. (1986). Notes on the lasting effects of early child abuse throughout the life cycle. Child Abuse and Neglect, 10, 283-291.

Steele, B.F., & Pollack, C.B. (1968). A psychiatric study of parents who abuse infants and small children. In R. Helfer & C.H. Kempe (Eds.), The battered child. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Steinmetz, S. (1977). The use of force for resolving family conflict: The training ground for abuse. Family Coordinator, 26, 19-26.

Stevenson-Hinde, J., Hinde, R., & Simpson, A. (1986). Behavior at home and friendly or hostile behavior in preschool. In D. Olwens, J. Block, & M. Radke-Yarrow (Eds.), Development of antisocial and prosocial behavior. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Stokes, R. (1964). A research approach to sexual offenses involving children. Canadian Journal of Corrections, 6, 87-94.

Straus, M.A. (1990). *Physical violence in American families*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Thorman, G. (1983). *Incestuous families*. Springfield, IL: George Thomas Publisher.

Toro, P.A. (1982). Developmental effects of child abuse: A review. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, *6*, 423-431.

Tower, C. (1989). *Understanding child abuse and neglect*. Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster.

Trends in child abuse and neglect: A national perspective (1984). Denver: American Human Association (AHA).

Trickett, P.K., & Kuczynski, L. (1986). Children's misbehaviors and parental discipline strategies in abusive and nonabusive families. *Developmental Psychology*, *22*, 115-123.

Tsai, M., Feldman-Summers, S., & Edgar, M. (1979). Childhood molestation: Variables related to differential impact of psychosexual functioning in adult women. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *88*, 407-417.

Tufts' New England Medical Center, Division of Child Psychiatry. (1984). *Sexually exploited children: Service and research project*. Final report to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.

Vander Mey, B., & Neff, R. (1986). *Incest as child abuse: Research and applications*. New York: Praeger.

Vondra, J.I. (1990). Sociological and ecological factors. In R.T. Ammerman & M. Hersen (Eds.), *Children at risk: An evaluation of factors contributing to child abuse and neglect* (pp. 149-170). New York: Plenum Press.

Wald, M.S., & Cohen, C. (1988). Preventing child abuse - What will it take? In D.J. Besharov (Ed.), *Protecting children from abuse and neglect: Policy and practice* (pp. 149-170). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Ward, E. (1985). *Father-daughter rape*. New York: Grove Press.

Waters, E., & Sroufe, L.A. (1983). Social competence as a developmental construct. *Developmental Review*, *3*, 79-97.

Williams, G., & Money, J. (Eds.) (1980). *Traumatic abuse and neglect of children at home*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wilson, G., & Cox, D. (1983) Personality of paedophile club members. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *4*, 323-329.

Wolfe, D.A. (1987). *Child abuse: Implications for child development and psychopathology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wolfe, D.A. (1985). Child abusive parents: An empirical review and analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *97*, 462-482.

Wolfe, D.A., & Mosk, M.D. (1983). Behavioral comparisons of children from abusive and distressed families. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *51*, 709-717.

Wolfe, V.V., Gentile, C., & Wolfe, D.A. (1989). The impact of sexual abuse on children: A PTSD formulation. *Behavior Therapy*, *20*, 215-228.

Wurtele, S. (1987). School-based sexual abuse prevention programs: A review. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, *11*, 483-495.

Wyatt, G. (1985). The sexual abuse of Afro-American and white American women in childhood. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, *9*, 507-519.

Wyatt, G., & Peters, S. (1986). Issues in the definition of child sexual abuse in prevalence research. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, *10*, 231-240.

Wyatt, G., & Peters, S. (1986). Methodological considerations in research on the prevalence of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, *10*, 241-251.

Wyatt, G., & Powell, G. (Eds.) (1988). *Lasting effects of child sexual abuse*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

DRAFT VERSION ONLY: [illegible]

COMMENTS WELCOMED

Chapter 3

GANGS AND THEIR VIOLENCE

Diana Chuang

Jorge Elizondo

Lawrence Hernandez

Erinn Lopez

Abstract

This paper reviews the prevalence and violence of gangs in the 1990s. Although the history of gangs in America dates back to the nineteenth century, the increased access to high-powered weaponry and the introduction of crack cocaine has made the activities of these modern peer groups lethal. Gang violence has transformed many of our neighborhoods into urban war zones.

Sociological theories employed to understand the existence and violence of gangs and their appeal to young people are reviewed. Macro (societal level) theorists argue that gangs result from disadvantaged social groups' limited access to the legitimate means for attaining culturally valued goals. Gang activity and violence represent an "innovative" alternative means of achieving wealth, respect, and power. According to a micro (social psychological) perspective, the labeling of adolescents by educators, employers, and police as having learning or motivational problems and of being delinquent creates a self-fulfilling prophecy effect. Stereotyping and racism deprive many ethnic youths of self-esteem and respect, and they join gangs to find social status.

Complementing these theoretical discussions are results from a preliminary field study. This study provides insightful comments from the perspectives of minority adolescents currently involved in gang activity. Factors discussed that encourage young people to join gangs include: being a member of an identifiable ethnic minority, constant exposure to racial discrimination and antagonism, depleted economic resources, disruptive and violent family lives, and the lack of ethnic role models and teachers in the educational system. The paper concludes with suggestions for prevention and intervention.

Before attempting to discuss the existence, manifestation, and violence of gangs in the 1990s, we must first decide who is encompassed by the present definition of this term. In doing this, it is important to acknowledge that gangs are not a new phenomenon. They have a history dating back to the late nineteenth century, when reporters, investigating social deviants of the time, wrote that gangs were primarily involved in crimes of robbery, specifically of trains, stage-coaches, saloons, and banks (Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991). By contrast, one hundred years later, in the 1990s, the focus is on urban gangs who are mainly involved in neighborhood turf wars, drug trafficking, and community intimidation.

Different definitions of the word gang appear in the literature. The term can, of course, be applied informally to describe any group of individuals united to accomplish a goal. It is commonly believed that if any group of young people has been labeled as a gang, their actions will conform to certain negative behaviors expected of gangs by the larger society. We will not become involved here in a debate on how to most accurately restrict the scope of the term. Instead we ask the reader to note that this analysis focuses specifically on youth gangs and their violence. For our purposes, therefore, we will agree that a gang is a group of inner city adolescents participating collectively (or individually, but as an agent of the gang) in criminal activities. A further criterion is that the group must acknowledge itself as a gang.

The literature suggests that American youth gangs are perceived as being sociological descendants of the gangs that sprang up in the United Kingdom during the industrial revolution of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Dolan & Finey, 1984). Industrialization caused many peasant families in England to migrate to urban areas, where youths were faced with new problems of adaptation and integration. Their problems were exacerbated in situations where parents, struggling to survive in the difficult and precarious urban environment, often could not fulfill all of their children's protective, emotional, and economic needs. The disparity between economic need and family cohesion necessitated the creation of surrogate families. For many youths, this new family was the gang. Though it may seem far-fetched to argue that American gangs, especially ethnic ones such as the Crips or the Longos (a Mexican-American gang in Long Beach), are direct offshoots of those British gangs, it is clear enough that some of the same conditions which young people experienced in turn-of-the-century England are present today in various American urban areas, where youth gangs and their violence are commonplace.

Social scientists noted an apparent breakdown of American youth gangs in the early seventies. Two reasons for the disappearance of gangs were given. The first proposed that as gang members entered the transition to adulthood and confronted maturing responsibilities, they tended to abandon the gangs. The second argued that youth gangs were collapsing as many of their leaders joined the burgeoning national movements fighting for the rights of minorities in the early seventies. Whatever the real reasons, the disappearance was short-lived, as gangs began to resurface in the late seventies and early eighties. This time, however, there was a notable difference; the gangs attracted more members and were involved in more violent crimes than before (Dolan & Finey, 1984).

This analysis is an attempt to gain an understanding of why gangs exist and why certain people become members. Here we focus on the prevalence of gangs and their violence, current theories employed to understand gangs, related factors from the perspective of gang members, and a discussion of proposed solutions to the problem of gang violence. Research and discussions with gang members aid in guiding our proposal and subsequent implementation of appropriate policy and intervention programs.

Prevalence and Complexity of the Problem

Inaccuracy of the Data

One of the greatest barriers faced by researchers and community-based organizations that attempt to understand, gauge, and alleviate gang violence and related crimes is the inaccuracy of the available information. Tremendous difficulty is encountered when trying to obtain demographic information on gang members, for several reasons. First, much of the available data is collected by law enforcement officials who can often only identify gang members by their street names. Community members are reluctant to volunteer information on gang members, especially to any person who is perceived as an outside threat. This reticence is sometimes an attempt to protect their young people; other times it is due to fear of gang reprisal. Second, gang code prohibits identifying members of one's own gang or even those of other gangs to any authority. The third factor is that, as with all others who are considered criminals, youth gang members see little reason to cooperate with local police or social agencies. Similarly, cooperation with researchers could increase the risk of a member being identified and caught up in the wheels of the justice system. Fourth, social investigators recognize the danger of involvement with the gang lifestyle and thus conclude that field study in gang neighborhoods might prove harmful to the researcher. Finally, it must be remembered that part of what identifies a gang as a unique social group are its exclusivity, its loyalty to its own membership, and its covertness. Allowing an "outsider" to enter the inner circle violates these norms.

Due to these circumstances, which inhibit direct observation and close study of gangs and gang behavior, much information on gangs is based on "impressionistic, sensationalized second-hand accounts" (Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991). It is no wonder that such reporting on gangs has contributed to an "outlaw mythology" that is perpetuated by faulty research design. It should be noted, however, that some recent studies have attempted to rectify these historical problems in the methodology used to study gangs (for further discussion see Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991).

Though there is a lack of accurate data, it is indisputable that gangs are alive and well within a majority of our inner city neighborhoods. It is unclear, however, who and how many individuals are involved, and what amount of overall urban crime and violence can actually be attributed to youth gangs. In fact, police departments began collecting statistics on gangs only as recently as 1988. To date no national figures on the prevalence of this problem have been collected. The obvious question that arises is why have these agencies begun only lately collecting data on a phenomenon that has been recognized as a social problem for decades?

Researchers suggest two answers. First, the greater availability of high-powered weaponry since the early 1980s has increased the number of gang-related fatalities. Second, the introduction of "crack" (a form of cocaine) into the U.S., around 1984, has escalated the demand for this drug in the inner cities and has produced a highly volatile market for drug sales. These two factors have served to transform relatively "benign turf wars" into deadly battles. By 1987, gang-related deaths had tripled to a level of one per day in Los Angeles (Davis, 1990). In his recent report, Assistant Attorney General Gurule emphasized that "one of the most disturbing developments in narcotics trafficking over the past few years is the increased involvement and violence by gangs" (Gurule, 1992).

Though violence was rising in the inner cities throughout the past decade, most local and state entities, as well as the federal government, showed little concern in proposing policy changes and/or intervention programs. Even media coverage was sparse until December of 1987, when a critical event in Los Angeles was seen as a cause for alarm. As reported in the Los Angeles Times, "[A] southside gang hit man mistakenly gunned down a wealthy young white woman in posh Westwood village entertainment district." This and similar events on the opposite coast propelled gang violence to the front page of every major newspaper in the country. Gang violence was no longer limited to inner city neighborhoods where it could be tolerated and even ignored (Davis, 1990). Gangs were now seen as a threat to American suburbia. Movie producers, tapping into the growing national anxiety, inundated the public with a flood of movies depicting rampaging "street thugs" indiscriminately gunning down innocent bystanders. The news media and politicians were quick to capitalize on the fears of middle-class America. In the 1988 elections, "wars" on drugs, crime, and gangs were at the top of virtually every major political player's list. Local police departments formed "gang units," and documenting the pervasiveness of gangs became a central task.

Thus, aside from a few comprehensive studies, police data, unreliable as they are, continue to be our major source of information about gang involvement and gang violence. One of the few national studies which asks questions directly of youths in urban areas is the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). In its latest report, out of 10,000 nationwide respondents between the ages 12 and 19, 14% of white students, 20% of black students, and 32% of Hispanic students reported the presence of gangs in their schools. Of those, 28% said they saw fights between gang members more than once a month and sometimes as frequently as every day, and 16% said they knew of a student or teacher who had been attacked or threatened by gang members within the last six months (NCVS, 1991).

Most investigators believe that Southern California has the most disturbing gang problem in the country. Ira Ranier, District Attorney for Los Angeles County, has suggested that gang members there number 130,000. This is a startling figure: it means that 1 of every 67 people in Los Angeles County is actively involved in a gang. Of these, 13,000 are believed to be "hard-core" gang members (Willwerth, 1991). Law enforcement authorities report that Long Beach has well over 1,000 active gang members (1 of every 41 residents). It is not clear exactly how much of the violence reported in crime statistics are the doings of youth gangs. Yet, the Los Angeles County D.A.'s Office claims that gangs were responsible for 18,059 violent felonies and 690 deaths in 1990 (up from 492 deaths in 1988). This is a murder rate higher than in such strife-ridden areas as Belfast or Burma (Willwerth, 1991).

Oakland's Gang Task Force has reported that that city has as many as 18 active Latino youth gangs with at least 350 members who are known to the police by name. However, according to Officer Guerrero, a member of the Task Force, the greatest concern is the growing number of Asian gangs. "These gangs are the hardest to deal with. In their homelands, when the police came to your home it always meant serious trouble so it's hard to get any community support." Guerrero also pointed out that the adolescent gangs made up primarily of high-school-age Latinos, Asians, and Blacks are quite benign compared to the "big dope gangs" (organized drug traffickers). Dope gangs are responsible for most of the serious shootings and heavy drug trafficking.

Gang involvement and violence no longer seem to be limited to large urban areas. Pueblo, Colorado, an isolated southwestern city of less than 100,000 people, has reported an increase in violence among the approximately 40 gangs throughout the city's barrios. Gus Sandstrom, the local district attorney, explained that "the gang problem is everywhere. We had gangs in Pueblo in the 1950s and 1960s and they were very similar to the gangs we have now. One difference now is the acts of violence are worse and have the potential to increase in severity" ("Prosecutor Says," 1991).

Despite the fact that there are no national statistics on gang-related violence, it is clear that young people are frequently both the perpetrators and the victims of violent crimes. In Los Angeles County, 10% to 20% of homicides are witnessed by young children, and in Chicago almost all the children living in public housing will have a first-hand experience with a shooting by age 5 (Novello, 1991). In 1990, 400,000 students, nationwide, were victims of violent crimes (National Crime Victimization Study, 1991). According to the FBI, homicide continues to be the leading cause of death among black males (Roper, 1991). Over 95% of the victims of "gang violence" are young Blacks and Latinos (Ostos, 1991). These statistics suggest the pervasiveness of gang violence. Researchers caution, however, that these figures must be viewed conservatively.

It is important to remember that, historically, gangs and gang violence have, at one time or another, involved every ethnic group which has experienced racial or economic oppression, including the Irish gangs of Boston, Albanian and Appalachian gangs in New York, and, more recently, Asians in San Francisco, and Latinos and Blacks in Los Angeles. One of the main differences in present day gangs is not only the high level of violence but also that fact that present-day participants are mainly adolescents, typically high school sophomores, although some (called "peewees") are as young as ten years old (Davis, 1990; Ostos, 1991; Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991; Vigil, 1990).

Bias in the Data

We believe it would be irresponsible not to point out the basis for the inaccuracy of the data on youth gangs. Knowing why the data may be biased provides a feel for the political issues related to this problem. First, in an attempt to justify disproportionate increases in funding, law enforcement agencies and media have inflated figures on gang membership. As one writer has observed:

> The very real epidemic of youth violence, with its deep roots. . .in exploding youth poverty, has been inflated by law enforcement agencies and the media into something quite phantasmagoric. In a numbers game that ceases to distinguish the authentic "high rollers" and "stone killers" of the gang world from the "claimers" and "wannabees," the city attorney's office has steadily escalated its estimates of hardcore gang membership. Local media have amplified this figure, while sheriffs' "gang experts" have invoked the specter of 100,000 "little rotten cowards" overrunning Los Angeles County. Meanwhile an Andromeda strain of Crips and Bloods is reported to have infected the entire west, from Tucson to Anchorage, before invading middle America itself (with new sightings from Kansas City to Buffalo) (Davis, 1990).

Second, consider the method by which statistics on gang members are actually accumulated. Police "gang sweeps" or "body count" missions, where police "pick 'em up for anything and everything," are common in many big cities. During these police missions (such as the recent "Operation Hammer" in Los Angeles), hundreds of ethnic youths are picked up under the guise of "probable cause" (i.e., walking in groups of three or more, being in "known" gang neighborhoods, wearing "pro'" sports paraphernalia, having visitors who stay less than ten minutes) or simply for looking "suspicious." They are processed in mobile booking centers and all, whether formally arrested or not, are entered into the electronic gang file for future surveillance (Davis, 1990).

Furthermore, Sanchez-Jankowski (1991) and others have pointed out that much of the violence attributed to gangs may actually be perpetrated by individuals who are acting alone, but who may (or may not) also be loosely affiliated with a gang. This kind of labeling by association makes gang violence seem random and impersonal. Yet, when gangs initiate a violent act it is not random; rather, it is a carefully planned retaliation, in defense of territory or to insure economic solvency.

Putting the Problem into Context

The notion of gang violence as it is commonly understood borders on a "blaming the victim" stereotype. It implies that the violence has its roots in, and is perpetuated by, minority gangs that are operating in a social vacuum. Predominantly white communities are not seen as being part of the problem. Yet, gang violence is not a phenomenon that has been spontaneously, or exclusively, generated out of the black, Chicano, or Asian communities. In as much as the minority experience in America is gauged relative to the white experience in America, then, in essence, they are necessarily interrelated; each frames and helps to define the other.

The stereotypes that plague people of color are harmful for society as a whole. Media (television, newspapers, textbooks, educational institutions) often paint erroneous or skewed pictures of minorities and parade these "facts" before the public. For white people who have little or no contact with people of color, such stereotypes are often the only information to which they can refer. These reinforcements of negative stereotypes allow people in positions of power in society (police, media, legislators, politicians), through ignorance or malice, to make the situation worse. Police say Blacks fit the profile of criminals. Politicians imply that poor minorities are parasites living off "the working man's" money by collecting welfare. Such messages only help to foster and reinforce the "us versus them" schism in our society.

Our purpose is not to glorify gang members nor to absolve them of personal responsibility. Nor are we proposing that nothing can or should be done about gang violence and crime. After all, ethnic minorities who are apprehended for criminal activity are not necessarily victims of a racist conspiracy. The Crips, the Bloods, and numerous other gangs do exist. We do, however, emphasize that racism and labeling contribute to both the real and perceived phenomena of gang activity. As pointed out above, actual gang membership does not exist in the grossly inflated numbers reported by the media and police departments. This misrepresentation of the numbers has unfortunately succeeded in perpetuating stereotypes and causing paranoia about who is involved in gangs and why.

To date, the approach to inner city gangs and their violence has implicitly ignored the contribution of the rest of society to the phenomenon. This paper is an attempt to lift the problem out of its social isolation and address it as the American problem that it is.

Preliminary Field Study

Focus of Present Gang-Related Research

Policy makers have too often tried to address gang-related problems based on social and psychological theories, racial stereotypes, and erroneous assumptions. In an attempt to address this problem realistically, researchers and policy makers alike need to go to the source—our inner-city communities--specifically to the people directly involved in gang activity. Their self-reports can be invaluable in illuminating various aspects of gang violence and in portraying the real-life experiences of those who have been involved in perpetrating this violence. These first-hand perspectives have sometimes been missed by traditional social researchers.

In this section, we turn our attention almost exclusively to people of color. This is mainly because gang activity is most prevalent within the ethnic minority communities. Several preliminary interviews, conducted by one of the present authors, suggest the need for a phenomenological and contextual understanding of gang violence. The following accounts will offer insights derived exclusively from the points of view of inner-city residents who are personally involved, as current and previous gang members.

One young ethnic man, who reported past involvement in a gang, talked about the importance of field study in gang-related research. He believes that if researchers desire to gain a true and complete understanding of the phenomenon, it is imperative to study the communities in which the phenomenon is actually manifested. He told the interviewer:

> I think it is so stupid the way educated people think they can solve the gang problem. They don't even talk to us [gang members] or come to our neighborhoods. They just tryin' to solve a problem and they don't even know what the problem is. It seems to me that if they so smart, they'd want to find out as much about gangs from the people in them as they could. Cuz it's just dumb to try to solve a problem without knowing the problem, and until these people start talkin' to us, they are never going to know what the problem is. Until they know me, they can't solve my problems. And until they know my problems, they can't even begin to solve them. All this shit like I'm in a gang because I hated my mother and shit is just stupid. Those theories ain't got nothin' to do with black people. Those theories are about white people and I ain't white. And the people in gangs ain't white either. As long as you all look at gangs from your point of view and not ours, you ain't never gonna solve the problem.

This young man raises an interesting point. It may not be enough to dissect the minority experience in America into such factors as poverty, oppression, racism, etc., as is often done in the social sciences. This reductionist view misses the internalized feelings of many people as to what it means to be a person of color in the United States. It is often this inner experience which lies at the heart of gang existence and activity. Though factors such as living in poverty do encourage even some poor whites to join gangs, it is largely the children of the recognizably ethnic communities who join gangs.

This factor of poverty raises some interesting questions. Are ethnic minority gang members more poverty stricken and of lower socioeconomic status than their white counterparts? Does this account for their predominance in gang populations? This doesn't seem to be the case. In fact, the largest segment of the population living in poverty in the United States are white.

Therefore, we conclude that low SES is not the only factor that leads to gang activity, and it may not be the strongest indicator of gang involvement. However, being a member of an identifiable ethnic minority is an important factor according to our inner-city interviewees. Being an ethnic minority makes one subject to racial stereotypes, racism, oppression, and many other injustices. It is this social scapegoat status, combined with problems of low SES, which we believe accounts for the large number of ethnic minorities joining gangs.

Individuals are not inherently predisposed to joining gangs because of their membership in a particular ethnic group. The fact remains, however, that although there are some white gangs (e.g. Skinheads and Albanians), there are many more ethnic minority gangs (e.g. the Crips, the Bloods, the Latin Kings). In essence, if one considers that people of color are victimized by a social system which uses racism as a powerful tool for oppression, then, to a person in this situation, traditional means of earning a place in society (such as education and hard work) may seem out of reach or falsely presented as legitimate and meritocratic pathways to success. Thus, a gang may seem like the only social system that can provide a viable means of achieving status and economic solvency.

How Gangs are Perceived

Who then are the members of America's gangs? In response to this question, many black and Mexican men, some Asian men, a few women of color, and a few white people, would say "We are." At first glance, one might say that this is an over generalization. However, upon closer inspection, this statement contains a lot of validity, especially in the eyes of authorities. As one young black man said to the interviewer:

> You know, I can be walking down the street, not bothering nobody, and the police will stop me and harass me for no reason. And if I ask why they stopped me, they'll take me in, and even though I didn't do nothin', they'll book me for "gang activity." Now, I didn't do nothing. I ain't guilty of nothin' but being a black man and walkin' down the street. But for the police, that's enough. Now I got a police record for nothing and it's hard for me to get a job. All the applications ask if you got a record, and they don't care if you say yeah but it wasn't my fault. Everybody says that. You're just fucked up. This whole gang stuff ain't nothin but another way for the white man to keep the black man in his place--under his foot.

In light of experiences like this, it is difficult to deny that there is a process at work based on racist notions. Racism most often exposes itself in the form of stereotypes. For example, because thievery is often associated with Blacks, when a black person walks into a department store, she or he is more likely to be followed by a security guard. Similarly, whenever a Mexican is living in poverty, society often assumes that her or his condition is due to "laziness," a notion that has for years been propagated by the "cartoon" Mexican.

This stereotyping of ethnic groups has far-reaching negative effects. One, which the young man quoted above alluded to, is a decrease in job opportunities. Once labeled as a gang member by the legal system, a person has a police record which makes it almost impossible to obtain a job or find other legitimate means of support. This decrease in legitimate means, for a person who initially did not have many alternatives, can lead a peripheral gang member deeper into the organization for money making purposes. In this sense, labeling people of color as gang members without any concrete evidence tends to drive those who may not previously have been involved in criminal activities to depend on illegal means to survive.

Who Joins Gangs and Why

Why do minority youths join gangs? One young black man answered this question as follows:

> You know, when people ask me why I joined a gang, I just trip. They act like it was a choice. Like I just said, Hmmm, I think I'll join a gang today. But that ain't even it. It's like I had to do it. If I ever wanted to have anything, or be respected, I had to join a gang. It ain't just about wearing red or blue and stuff, it's about survival. And it ain't about hate like the white people think, it's about respect. Nobody gives the black man any respect, and the only way he's going to get it is if he takes it. By people being scared of me, I get that respect. Black people live in fear of our white racist government everyday. Now the white man has a reason to fear the black man. Cuz we ain't just gonna be walked on, we gonna take some mother fuckers out.

This young man's bravado stresses the distinction between gang violence and hate crimes. We acknowledge that his numerous references to white people and their oppression of Blacks seems to imply a hatred of Whites. However, taking a close look at the statistics, we note that it is not white people who generally fall victim to gang violence; rather it is the black, Mexican-American, and Asian gang members, themselves, as well as innocent bystanders who get caught in the crossfire of their internecine hostilities.

Another young Black stated why he feels people join gangs:

> The gang culture is all about respect. Anyone who disrespects us is gonna pay. This ain't nothin' new. For years, Whites have made minorities pay by putting us in jail for no reason...by not paying us enough money to support our families, and by ruining our image by portraying us as drug addicts, pimps and hookers at every possible chance. But people don't see this stuff. They just see the drive-by shootings. If people would just respect each other this wouldn't even be necessary. I see gang violence as a crime of retribution. It's payback time. And now black gangs are banding together. After the Rodney King verdict, if I was a white man, I'd be a scared mother fucker. Cuz, the tables are turning now. We ain't killing each other no more, we got a new target now.

This young man has identified three factors which lead to becoming associated with a gang--lack of respect, lack of money, and racial stereotypes perpetuated by the media and society as a whole. By a lack of respect, most gang members are not talking about simply being addressed differently, but about being respected as human beings with equal rights. Ethnic minorities in this country are still too often treated as lesser persons. People of color constantly find themselves in the position of trying to prove themselves and negate racial stereotypes.

Within the ethnic minority communities, as within many liberal factions of white society, it is widely believed that the lack of resources among many ethnic minorities can be traced to institutional causes. Ethnic citizens are discriminated against in housing and employment opportunities and by the educational and legal systems. Their young people are often failed by the educational system which is supposed to prepare them to become productive citizens and to make a decent living for themselves and their families. They are often failed by our country's justice system which is suppose to regard them as equal members of society and defend their rights as such. It is obvious that justice is not being achieved for individuals and communities of color.

Another common factor cited by informants as causing youths to join gangs is a disruptive family environment. One young man noted that many gang members come from this type of family situation. The stability, protection, emotional, and economic support that they are missing at home can be found in the gang.

> I think a lot of people, like me, join gangs because they have family problems. It ain't cool at home, so you get out. Then you get out there and you see a lot of people with the same problems you have. So you hook up with them and make your own family. It's like a substitute family.

> You got brothers who look out for each other. A lot of brothers. If you a Blood or a Crip, you can go anywhere in the state sportin' your colors and throwin' your signs, and you guaranteed at least 50 brothers. It's like a network you know. You got brothers everywhere. You got someone lookin' out for you which might be more than your "real" family did. At least now you have a real chance at survivin'.

Yet another young black man pointed out the role of the nation's educational system in pushing young people into gangs. He specifically noted a lack of role models such as ethnic male teachers, a lack of information about his ethnic history and social situation within schools, a lack of options outside of the educational arena, and a lack of organized programs for young people who are not in school.

> One reason that a lot of people like me join gangs is because they don't do well in school. I ain't sayin' that we're dumb or anything, cuz we're not. Most of us are real intelligent, and we got more common sense than most people. But for me, school was boring. They didn't teach me nothin' about black people or nothin'. There was no one like me in the school either. Just nerds and white lady teachers. They didn't like me there anyway. They thought I was stupid, so I just said "fuck this" and left. School ain't for everyone. But most kids are in school, so when you drop out, you ain't got no boys to hang with. All there is to hang with is gang members and other drop outs, and most of them gonna become gang members sooner or later. You ain't got nothin' else to do. Most of us don't be playin' sports cuz our grades in school wasn't good enough to get on the teams and there ain't no organized sports programs for kids who ain't in school. It's hard to get a job if you're a drop out, and if you do get one it's only gonna pay minimum wage. You find your homeboys where you can and you hang where you can...in the streets.

Our nation's main "socializer" is the educational system. Through it, young people are prepared for jobs and for adult life. But what is to be done for those young people who are estranged by the educational system? It is neither moral nor just to limit the history of Blacks to a brief mention of Slavery, and then to claim that black students drop out of school due to their own lack of will. What motivation is there to learn what does not seem to apply to you but only seems to benefit Whites? It is important that ethnic minorities be incorporated into our schools' staffs and curriculums. The system must be changed so that people of color may be equal witnesses that the educational system does provide benefits to all individuals. This must be done at an early age before students become disillusioned.

The last young man quoted above also pointed out the importance of organized social programs outside of the educational arena. His plight reveals a need for community-based sports, vocational, and other social programs. These types of programs can aid in the discovery and development of non-educational talents, supplement educational curriculums, and provide alternative peer groups.

Theoretical Perspectives

An overview of both current and traditional sociological theories regarding the occurrence and perpetuation of gangs may lend insight in formulating preventive and intervention measures. It must be noted, however, that no one of these sociological theories singularly provides a comprehensive explanation of the persistence of gangs and gang violence. As shown in the field study above, gangs are complex social structures within complex environments, and a fuller understanding of gangs and gang violence can only be achieved by integrating applicable parts of several sociological theories. The theories that will be discussed have been chosen over other existing theories which might also be argued as pertinent to the phenomenon of gangs and gang violence, because these allow for a more comprehensive explanation.

Moreover, the theories to be discussed consider not only why gangs form, but, more importantly, the problematic issue of why gangs become violent.

The occurrence and perpetuation of gangs must be considered from both the micro (individual) and macro (community/societal) levels. From a micro perspective, we can consider why an individual becomes involved in a gang and how his or her participation is perpetuated. A macro-level analysis, on the other hand, provides insight into the maintenance of gangs. Taking into account both the individual and macro-level perspectives enriches one's understanding of the dynamics involved not only in the incidence and maintenance of gangs but also in the perpetuation of the violence committed by gangs and gang members.

Micro Perspectives

Merton's theoretical discussion of the phenomenon of anomie provides a good starting point in conceptualizing this problem. Merton's primary goal was "to discover how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in nonconforming rather than conforming conduct" (Robert K. Merton, 1967).[1] Indeed, determining the role(s), if any, that social structures play in determining one's conduct is the key in proposing intervention and prevention strategies for gang violence. Merton held that the manifestation of anomie is due to "a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them" (Merton, 1967). When these two elements of social structure are not in balance, this lack of equilibrium manifests itself in the individual in one of five adaptation measures.[2]

---

[1] Merton defined anomie, or normlessness, as the disjunction between two elements of social structures; these elements are "culturally defined goals, purposes and interests,...legitimate objectives for all or for diversely located members of a society,: and regulatory norms that define, regulate, and control the acceptable modes of reaching these goals (Merton, 1967).

Although these categories refer to an individual's behavior in specific types of situations, as opposed to one's personality, involvement in a gang can generally be considered as a manifestation of either innovative or rebellious adaptation strategies. Yet, if the existence of gangs could be explained wholly as a manifestation of Merton's conception of rebellion, they would, according to him, reject societal goals and norms and replace them with alternate ones (Merton, 1967). Gang activity lends very little support for this perspective; the specifics of this lack of support will be discussed later when we consider the notion of gangs as subcultures.

According to Merton's typology, gangs could also be categorized as the manifestation of "innovation." Innovation occurs when the individual accepts cultural goals but the surrounding social structure affords limited access to approved modes of reaching these goals. Merton asserted that this phenomenon is particularly prevalent in the United States, where social goals are held to transcend class lines. These cross-class societal goals may include wealth, status, emotional security, and physical protection from harm. The reality is, however, that these goals can generally only be realized through means to which the inadequate urban educational system, crowded urban conditions, and scarce employment opportunities do not provide equal access. Moreover, the proximity of middle and upper-class neighborhoods to lower-class ones in urban communities, as well as in suburban communities of some states (of which California is one), encourages comparison and places even greater emphasis on socially defined goals. The limited accessibility of socially approved means to cultural goals in more impoverished urban areas thereby catalyzes the participation of youths in gangs, which may be seen as an attempt to provide an innovative system of access.

---

[2] Merton's typology of the five modes of adaptation includes conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion (Merton, 1967). These modes can be defined in terms of an individual's acceptance or rejection of culture goals, institutionalized means, or both.

A series of studies conducted by Hagedorn in 1986 and in 1990 illustrated how deindustrialized conditions in urban areas have frustrated goal-attainment through legitimate means. Hagedorn noted that over 50,000 jobs or 23% of Milwaukee's manufacturing employment was lost in the years between 1979 and 1986. Based on this knowledge, Hagedorn had conducted a study in 1986 in which he interviewed 47 of the 260 Milwaukee youths who had started 19 major gangs in that city in the early 1980s. When asked to report on the current status of gang members, those interviewed indicated that more than 80 percent of all male gang founders were still actively involved; as twenty to twenty-five-year-old adults, they still had not "matured out" of gang life. The relative dearth of socially sanctioned means to wealth in the area was confirmed in Hagedorn's follow-up, conducted in 1990. He found that out of 47 founding gang members, less than one in five (19 percent), now in their mid- to late twenties, were engaged in full-time work. However, three times as many of the founders (59%) had "graduated" from the gangs into "drug posses," i.e., high-risk small businesses selling drugs (Hagedorn, 1991).

It would be erroneous, however, to say that gangs are a problem peculiar to the urban underclass, to assume that the problem can be remedied by the mere introduction of jobs, or to dismiss the participants of gangs as maladjusted individuals. As Merton proposed, when existing means of attainment seem inefficient, people of all classes will seek other means in order to achieve their goals. The question then arises as to what determines the nature of the deviant act: what causes one person to commit fraud and another to steal a car? Cloward attributed this phenomenon to differentials, across socioeconomic status, not only in access to legitimate means but also in access to illegitimate means (Cloward, 1959). In addition, he referred also to differentials in legitimate or illegitimate learning structures, which he saw as critical to the process of becoming either a deviant or a non-deviant actor. Moreover, he saw both systems of opportunity as limited (Cloward, 1959). In the June 17, 1991 issue of Newsweek, Jim Brown, a former football player and actor who is presently running, Amer-I-Can, a program aimed at gang intervention, was quoted as follows: "A lot of us take [life-management skills] for granted, but some people have never been taught things like wearing a tie for a job interview and not beating up the guy next to you on the job over a slight disagreement" (Leerhsen, 1991). This example lends support to the argument that there are limited learning structures in a number of communities for attaining goals by legitimate means.

Cloward gave the following as some of the criteria governing access to illegitimate means: class differentials, age, sex, ethnicity, kinship. However, the degree of involvement of an individual in both legitimate and illegitimate learning structures can also be attributed to Sutherland and Cressey's (1978) concept of "differential group association." These researchers made several assertions about deviance. The one most pertinent to gangs and gang violence states that deviance must be learned. Moreover, the learning provides gang members with techniques for committing deviant acts as well as with specific rationalizations and attitudes. For example, those involved in a gang learn about antagonism toward the police (Vigil, 1988), ways to protect themselves against other gang aggressors, ways of speech and dress (Vigil, 1988), techniques involved in theft or in drug usage, and patterns of interaction in different social settings.

Sutherland and Cressey further found that the association of an individual with a gang may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity. They stated that the process of learning deviant behavior by association with deviant patterns involves all of the same mechanisms that are part of any other learning process (Sutherland & Cressey, 1978). It should be emphasized, however, that learning different behaviors and modes of thought through association with different groups and social structures is a process that takes place with respect to all individuals, whether they be gang members or debutantes.

Combining anomie and differential association theories provides important insight into the sociological processes governing both deviant and nondeviant gang behaviors. Together they provide an understanding of how the relationship between cultural goals and socially sanctioned means and opportunities can determine individual and gang actions. Yet, there must be other dynamics at work. Consider the example of individuals placed within similar situations, with similar availability to both legitimate and illegitimate goals and means. Why do some of these individuals engage in gang activities while others, even members of the same family, abstain from these behaviors? An answer to this may be that individuals within a socioeconomic status group have different needs. The process involved in gaining fulfillment of these differing needs may be presented as a modified version of Glaser's concept of differential identification. In effect, Glaser's theory purports that a person pursues deviant behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seems acceptable (Glaser, 1956). However, there seems to be some kind of circular reasoning and a "blame the victim" approach lurking in this theory, in that it implies that individuals are predisposed to deviance, which readily unveils itself in the presence of, or by identification with, an overtly deviant actor.

Starting from Glaser's notion that individuals' behaviors are shaped by identification with others, it is more feasible to suppose that individuals' participation in different learning structures will be based upon their specific needs. For example, those who seek involvement with gangs or other tightly knit peer groups may do so to satisfy emotional needs that are not being met elsewhere, such as in the home. Yablonsky has pointed out that "the near-group [gang], unlike a true group, has norms, roles, functions, cohesion, size, and goals which are shaped by the emotional needs of its members" (Yablonsky, 1959).[3] Gangs may also serve to fulfill a need for physical protection within a hostile environment. As a 24-year-old inner city Los Angeles man recounted, "I was born into the barrio. It was either get your ass kicked every day or join a gang and get your ass kicked occasionally by rival gangs" (Vigil, 1988). Similarly, Steve Valdivia, director of Los Angeles

---

[3] Although Yablonsky's near-group theory will not be discussed here in detail, he placed near-groups midway along a group-mob continuum and characterized them by some of the following factors: diffuse role definition, limited cohesion, impermanence, minimal consensus of norms, shifting membership, disturbed leadership, and limited definition of membership expectations.

County's Community Youth Gang Services Project, has said of new Cambodian gangs, "You land in a gang neighborhood, it might seem natural to form a militia to defend yourself" (Willwerth, 1991).

Due to the low SES of many urban communities, gangs may also serve an economic purpose through either the sale of drugs or the craft of thievery. Vigil wrote of a gang member living in a single-parent home, whose mother worked nights at a laundromat and "was having a bad time" but who "never would give up." When he saw his mother reduced to selling household items for cash, the gang member and his brother began stealing bikes and selling them and also began stealing food and candy. Vigil linked the role of gangs to that of a "surrogate family," stating that "the gang is a force of attraction that provides many family-type functions" (Vigil, 1988). While Vigil noted that this "peer-group-as-surrogate-family" pattern is a common adolescent group phenomenon, he found that gangs are significant in that they are more formalized versions of this phenomenon. Males in particular may seek out gangs for male role-models. A study conducted in 1984 reported that 61% of those who were persistently poor over a ten-year period were in female-headed families, whereas only approximately 20% of the total U.S. population were in female-headed families in 1983 (Wilson, 1987). To the extent, then, that individuals will differentially associate and identify with those groups that help fulfill their needs, some may join gangs and some may not. Moreover, this need-based theory also accounts for different levels of involvement in gangs. Most people try to fulfill their needs first through legitimate means, but as those prove unsatisfactory, they find themselves relying more and more on illegitimate learning structures. For example, a male, aged 27, in South Fontana, California, said, "What I earned at work wasn't enough for my good times. I thought I could make some extra money by stealing carpets. It would be by the yard at first and then I began to get into rolls of carpet" (Vigil, 1988).

Other sociologists, such as Matza (1964), have proposed the notion that gangs are a phenomenon explained by theories of subcultures (groups that reject common social goals or norms and embrace new ones). Yet, although most gang members utilize at least some socially unacceptable means by which to attain their goals, it seems that most, if not all, gang members still conform to and strive for established cultural goals. Moreover, the conception of gangs as subcultures implies that the replacement of common norms is readily achieved. To the contrary, whereas some gang members may be truly unaffected by any of the social regulatory norms, the overwhelming majority still feel, in some degree, subject to these expectations. This is supported by the theory that almost all gang members "mature out" of gang life, usually in their twenties (Vigil, 1988). In fact, few gang members willingly become "career deviants." They gain exposure to middle-class expectations or norms through television, encounters with police, jail, and laws, all of which tell gang members which behaviors are right and which are wrong (Cohen, 1966).

Moreover, Matza and Sykes' analysis of delinquency unveiled a number of empirical and theoretical "difficulties in viewing delinquent behavior as springing from a set of deviant values and/or norms--as arising, that is to say, from a situation in which the delinquent defines his delinquency as 'right'" (Matza & Sykes, 1957). To begin with, if a delinquent subculture existed in which each member viewed his or her illegal behavior as morally correct, it would be reasonable to suppose that the delinquents would exhibit no feelings of guilt or shame. On the contrary, Matza and Sykes found "a good deal of evidence" suggesting that delinquents do experience a sense of guilt and/or shame. The following example counters the assumption that gang members have no conscience: An recent magazine article related the story of a 12-year old gang member, "Little Ducc," and a gang shooting, in which he sneaked up on members of a rival gang, fired, and hit one of them with a bullet from his .22 caliber pistol. Of the shooting, Ducc remembers, " I saw a lot of blood," and then he froze in his tracks, overwhelmed by what he had done. One of his "homeboys" snatched him up and carried him back to their own neighborhood (Stanley, 1990).

In a similar vein, Matza and Sykes noted that juvenile delinquents frequently accord admiration and respect to law-abiding persons, or, as a corollary, exhibit great resentment if illegal behavior is imputed to "significant others" in their immediate social environment (Matza & Sykes, 1957). In the same article mentioned above, another gang member, J.J., aged 15, discussed the use of crack. He said, "It makes people skinny and ugly." In South Central Los Angeles, where J.J. lives, it is commonly believed that the only thing worse than a "basehead" (crack addict) is a "strawberry," a woman addict who trades sex for crack. The writer noted that J.J.'s mother "is a base head, and probably also a strawberry, but he won't discuss her. He'll fight anyone who does" (Stanley, 1990).

Moreover, Matza and Sykes reported that juvenile delinquents often draw a sharp line between those who can be victimized and those who cannot, a firm maxim being "Don't steal from your friends" (Matza & Sykes, 1957). Vigil summed up gang conflicts as usually involving rival barrio (or neighborhood) groups, but he noted that gang violence can break out under various other circumstances (e.g. at parties and bars) and can end up, not infrequently, in the killing of innocent bystanders. He also noted that, by far, most gang violence is committed by males and is targeted primarily at other males, although female cliques also often include one or several women who commit violent acts (Vigil, 1988).

If it is the case that gang members are conscious of and believe in societal norms, then how do they permit themselves to violate these norms? Matza and Sykes proposed that a process of neutralization takes place. They argued that much delinquency is based on what is essentially an unrecognized extension of rationalized defenses to crimes, in the form of justifications for deviant behaviors that are, to a large extent, learned, and that are seen as valid by the delinquent but not by the legal system or society at large. These neutralizations may precede the deviant behavior as well as serving to rationalize the act. Such pre-activity neutralization would facilitate the exercise of deviant behavior, including gang violence. These researchers identified five techniques of neutralization used to justify deviant behavior. The first of these, the "denial of responsibility," is a technique that extends much further than the claim that deviant acts are "accidents." Rather, the claim is made that the acts are due to forces outside and beyond the control of the individual, such as unloving parents, bad companions, or a slum neighborhood. The deviant learns to view himself more as acted upon than as acting (Matza & Sykes, 1957).

The second technique of neutralization is that of "denial of injury," where the admission of guilt may depend on the question of whether or not anyone has clearly been hurt by the behavior. For example, auto theft may be viewed as "borrowing." Denial of wrongdoing by denial of injury may also encompass the following rationalization by an offender, as reported by Vigil (1988): "Police assume we are doing something wrong when we are just kicking back, maybe getting high and drinking beer, and just partying." Vigil noted that, obviously, getting high and drinking beer was downplayed by this person as an illegal act, even though minors were present.

The third technique of neutralization, called "denial of a victim," occurs when the victim is transformed into a wrong-doer upon whom the deviant is enacting rightful retaliation or punishment (Matza & Sykes, 1957). Again, Vigil has provided an example, when he described the gang killing of a doctor who had earlier refused to provide unreported medical attention to a gun-shot injured comrade (Vigil, 1988). The fourth technique involves "condemnation of the condemners," in which the claim is made that those who disapprove of the deviant acts are "hypocrites, deviants in disguise," or impelled by "personal spite" (Matza & Sykes, 1957). All policemen, by this reasoning, are "corrupt, stupid, and brutal," and teachers "always show favoritism." (In light of racial discrimination, these rationalizations may actually carry some validity; this will be discussed later.) With the final neutralization, called "appeal to higher loyalties," the gang member justifies deviant acts in terms of a sacrifice of the demands of the larger society to the demands of the gang (Matza & Sykes, 1957).

Matza (1964) regarded the assimilation of new norms as a gradual process. He described the process of "sounding," whereby one probes the extent to which one can comfortably commit, and one's peers will advocate, deviant behaviors.

According to Matza, a gang subculture is inferred by its members and not taught in the usual sense of the word. It is cued, or "sounded" off from one gang member to another, and each member of the gang infers shared beliefs from the cues of the others (Matza, 1964). For instance, gang members may propose deviant behaviors, including violence, in terms of "Are you really one of us or just faking it?" Challenges of this type serve to extract reactions that help to define the boundaries of a group's behaviors. Initiation processes into gangs that involve fighting are also an example of an individual testing his limits. This kind of "sounding" may determine not only the boundaries of a gang's activities but also the frequency, intensity, and severity of gang activities and violence. If subtle cues about using hard drugs (e.g. heroin, crack) as opposed to soft drugs (marijuana, "reds") are received positively among fellow gang members, the majority of a gang may engage in that behavior; the gang may even proceed to become a "dope gang." On the other hand, if such cues are received negatively among fellow gang members, then the gang may engage in other activities, such as milder forms of drug abuse or "cruising." Interestingly, sometimes "sounding" does not reflect what the members actually believe but rather what they think the other members of the group believe. To that extent, most gang members may feel that others in the subculture are truly committed to their deviance, while they themselves may have "thought it was fun, but never really believed in it" (Rubington & Weinberg, 1968). The "maturing out" process that most gang members go through (Vigil, 1988) provides evidence for this perspective.

Finally, with regard to micro theories, the concept of social disorganization as a result of cultural conflict may help explain gang violence. Social disorganization may be defined as a decrease in the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1920). Therefore, if one is socially disorganized, the problem may not be attributed to one's own lifestyle; rather, the individual feels disorganized only vis-a-vis society and cannot relate to its norms. Social disorganization is more prevalent among newly immigrated groups, which are common in California, where one out of every six school children is foreign born, and where 45% of the nation's immigrants settle (Michael W. Kirst, Stanford University lecture, June 7, 1992). Dunham and Faris noted that second and third generation immigrant children have a very high delinquency rate. Their explanation for this is that growing out of the peculiar social situation of the second generation American is the mental conflict of a person who is in the process of transition between two cultures--the culture of his ancestors and the culture of the new world in which he lives (Dunham & Faris, 1965). They stated that for such children, contact with the dominant culture separates them from the world of their parents, while they often fail to gain complete acceptance into the mainstream of their own generation. Vigil has supported this perspective, stating that "parents and older siblings are often unable to effectively guide youngsters in ways to reconcile the contrasting cultural worlds, and this results in an uneven adoption of acculturative strategies" (Vigil, 1988). This perspective thus contributes to an explanation of why one sibling in an immigrant family may go to college while the others may join gangs. Sometimes, of course, a young person may do both. Vigil wrote of one 17-year-old female, in Ontario, California, who was a good student, but who also began to associate with cholas (female Chicano gang members) and participated in their gang activities in junior high school. She wanted to belong to a group that was Chicano—she wanted to prove to herself and to her childhood peers that she was not becoming a "Coconut," brown on the outside and white on the inside (Vigil, 1988).

Culture conflicts account, in part, for the recent rise of Asian-American gangs. Many newly immigrated Asian-American groups, especially of those from Southern Asia and the Pacific Islands, find themselves in overcrowded urban areas. Since second and third generation children of these groups often find no other group to which they can relate, they create their own culture, based upon the models of their American counterparts but unique to their ethnic identity (The Futurist, 1991). Willwerth (1991), described an example of this phenomenon:

> "At school the Mexicans looked down upon us and hurt us," recalls Mad Dog, 29, a [Cambodian immigrant and] "retired" homeboy whose mother was a Phnom Penh university professor. "We saw that American people had groups, white with white, black with black. We decided to become more famous. If they could steal cars and do drive-by shootings, so could we."

Macro Perspectives

Conflict theorists, such as Vold (1958) have proposed that violence and deviance are the products of power politics. In essence, conflict theories hold that rules which designate behaviors as either legally acceptable or not legally acceptable grow out of political power struggles between different interest groups. Furthermore, rule enforcement is largely dependent upon the interests of the most powerful individuals of the group (Little & Traub, 1985). In effect, the group in power labels which acts and which actors are deviant. This is, in fact, the process which contributes to the unreliable statistics mentioned earlier regarding gang involvement: Police categorically suspect people from certain racial groups of being gang members and detain many youths based on this racist notion. In essence, criminality has become increasingly a political issue and not just a legal one. An event which illustrates this was reported by Vigil (1988). Henry, a gang member from Chino, recalled:

> I still didn't believe what they said about the cops. But one time I got busted. They were following me, and I tried to lose them, and they said they got me for resisting arrest. See, they throw you in jail, call you names, and try to make you mad so you can hit them and they can hit you back. I was scared being arrested...I know we have a right to know why we were picked up, but they didn't tell us. When I put my hands down, he said I striked him. Then he threw me down and I couldn't breathe (Vigil, 1988).

In addition, Vold has presented the idea that when the spheres of action of two groups overlap, with each group investing in different or opposing goals from the other, conflict arises and "heightens" the behaviors of the groups involved (Vold, 1958). "Heightened" behavior may range from abrogated legal procedures to obscene hand gestures to violence on the part of both gangs and police, as evidenced in the events surrounding the recent Rodney King verdict. As a corollary, the more threatening the opposition seems to those in power, the more likely it is that "normal" legal procedures will be officially by-passed in order to shore up the power elite (Vold, 1958). An example of this process can be found in the preceding quote from Henry, the gang member from Chino, whereby his rights in the procedure of detainment were violated.

Similarly, labeling of adolescents by educators, employers, and police as either poor learners or as trouble-makers creates a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy. Vigil has reported on institutionalized academic "tracking," by which disproportionately high numbers of Chicano youths were placed in "remedial" classes and selective counseling strategies resulted in "good students" being steered toward skilled crafts rather than college. Moreover, one gang member reported that the Chicano's withdrawal from the learning situation would often resolve teacher-student conflicts. As he explained it: "Let's say you sit in the back of the class. 'You don't bug me and I will pass you,' that's what the teacher would say." (Vigil, 1988, p. 58)

Proposed Intervention

"Common ground" can be a powerful tool in stopping violence between gangs. In the aftermath of the April, 1992, Rodney King verdict and the riots that were sparked by it, a "Nightline" television special aired on the topic of gangs in South Central Los Angeles. One young man stated that if people really wanted to stop gang violence, the one thing that would do it would be finding "common ground." After the riots subsided, local gangs decided to put their differences aside and unite against what they perceive as "the common enemy"--the Establishment. It is unfortunate that rival gangs could be drawn together only to intensify their anger directed at another group. However, this union may be the beginning of greater changes. The growing number of deaths and the recruitment of increasingly younger citizens from all communities into gangs truly illustrate the American "dream deferred." There is an urgent need for all of us to work quickly to avoid further inevitable explosions.

It is within this framework of trying to act quickly against the failures of the social system that we must begin to address the problem of violent youth gangs. It would be ideal to change our social system's emphasis to one that would provide both market competition and a welfare program that could effectively protect those segments of our society that now fall by the wayside. Another ideal change would be to teach all Americans not to be racists. Since these larger changes need to be addressed at a national level, we propose to concentrate on the tangible, micro-structural facets of the problem and ways in which they can be approached.

Before providing a detailed outline of our proposed program it is important to delineate what problems will be targeted. Below, we have compiled a list of conditions that must be remedied and areas of need that must be considered before proposing any intervention or prevention program for gang violence. Although we recognize that no single program can possibly encompass the wide spectrum of needs which we will present, any program enacted to alleviate gang violence should address some of these issues in depth.

I. The Need to Eliminate Illegitimate Means/Learning Structures and to Introduce More Legitimate Means/Learning Structures.

a. The need to re-hydrate stagnant areas with new industry. b.The need to eliminate "drug posses" and their access to illegal arms.

An example of this may be found in the Justice Department's "Weed and Seed" program for which President Bush recently asked $500 million in funding from Congress. This program targets neighborhoods for increased numbers of police, witness protection programs, pretrial detention, elimination of drug trafficking, and instigation of "safe haven schools," which will stay open for children after school until 9 p.m. (Cohn et al., 1992).

II. The Need to Eliminate Racism, Oppression, and Their Effects Upon Our Youth.

a. The need to make justice and equal opportunity realities and not merely ideals.

b. The need to give gang members a sense of empowerment through intervention programs and legitimate means.

c. The need for more accurate needs-assessment measures and estimations of the prevalence of gangs and their activities in targeted areas.

Jim Brown has offered a way to redress the damages of racism and oppression in his program aimed at gang intervention, Amer-I-Can (Leerhsen, 1991). His plan includes self-esteem classes taught by former gang members, support-group meetings in which members talk about their feelings, and job-placement services emphasizing "life-management skills"—the ability to set reasonable goals and to master one's emotions.

III. The Need to Re-Structure Our Educational System.

a. The need for ethnic role models, e.g. teachers, school officials.

b. The need for school curriculums to encompass culturally diverse historical and social perspectives.

c. The need for community programs outside of the educational arena.

These programs will include community-based sports, vocational, and other social programs for the discovery and development of non-educational talents, supplemental educational curriculums, and alternative peer groups.

IV. The Need to Assume the Positive Functions Currently Assumed by Gangs.

a. To provide physical protection.

b. To instill pride and respect.

c. To teach economic and emotional coping strategies and security.

d. To teach effective patterns of interaction in social settings.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Whereas the patterns which gang members presently learn tend to lead to volatile situations, gang members are not necessarily more inherently violent than other people. Other patterns can be learned. As Jim Brown stated, "All I'm saying is that people who have no power need to learn how things work, and then simply play by the rules" (Leerhsen, 1991). This is the basis behind the life-management training in his Amer-I-Can program.

Intervention Program

Any intervention designed with the intention of decreasing gang involvement and gang violence must be comprehensive and flexible enough to adapt to the particular needs of the community for which it was designed. At the same time, the program must be solidly entrenched within the neighborhood by involving community representatives and local formalized institutions in planning and implementation. With these ideas in mind, we propose a multi-faceted School-Community Partnership, which will focus on both prevention (discouraging gang involvement and exploring alternatives) and intervention (assisting those students who have already become involved in gangs or are at high risk to become involved). This program is based on the San Jose East Side Unified High School District's "Streetwise Program," the Paramount, California, "Anti Gang Program" (Ostos, 1991), as well as on components of other programs operating successfully in different communities throughout the country. We particularly call attention to a model program started in the Pilsen neighborhood in Chicago, dubbed Mothers Against Gangs (MAG), in which mothers educated themselves about the problems of youths in their area and worked with police and churches to stop the local violence.

General Description

The School-Community Partnership is a multi-dimensional program which would involve (1) in-school curriculum, (2) teacher/administrator training, (3) parental involvement and training, and (4) a linkage to community-based programs. A special position, "Community Liaison," would be created as part of the school district staff. The liaison person would be responsible for administration and coordination of various aspects of the program. This person must be part of the school district staff, for there is strong evidence to suggest that comprehensive social programs designed to be implemented within the schools, but which are administered outside of the institution, are much less likely to prove successful. Each component of the program would have a director (teacher, community representative, parent) who would coordinate activities with the community liaison person.

In-School Curriculum

The in-school curriculum is based on the Paramount, (California) "Alternatives to Gang Membership" program designed for pre-teen youth to increase their awareness of constructive alternatives to gang involvement. The curriculum is presented to all fifth grade students in 55-minute sessions every week for a period of 15 weeks. The information section covers graffiti, tattoos, the impact of gang membership on family members, and gangs and drugs. In addition, our version of the curriculum would include teaching resistance techniques through role playing, which would help students to learn how to deal with peer pressure. It would also allow them to explore opportunities and alternatives outside of gang involvement. The intermediate school follow-up program would be targeted at seventh grade students. This curriculum would be a series of one-hour sessions for 10 weeks, which would reintroduce, expand, and reinforce concepts learned earlier. A second component of the program would consist of a series of discussion groups led by former gang members, successful community role models, and other guest speakers. The discussions would address current concerns about violence in the community, life experiences, and exploring and planning for the future.

Teacher and Administrator Training

The primary objective of training would be to help teachers and administrators become aware of the signs of gang involvement, aware of the factors that contribute to gang involvement in their community, and sensitize them to their own stereotypes about gangs and gang members. Teachers would also be taught how to assess students who are at high risk for gang involvement and how they might be able to intervene most effectively with gang members or high risk students. A special session for administrators would focus on how to create a school atmosphere that is not conducive to gang involvement and how to deal with specific discipline problems. The final component of the training would provide all personnel with information about alternatives available in the community. In addition, all staff members would be encouraged to think creatively about intervention strategies. The training would consist of two 8-hour workshops and several 1-hour sessions. Teachers would receive special certification for participation. A monthly newsletter focusing on anti-gang activities and success stories would be distributed to the school staff.

Parent Involvement and Training

The goal of this part of the program is to actively involve parents in creating a "no gang community" through knowledge, skill building, and access to community resources. The information portion of parent training would focus on normal developmental needs of children and adolescents and the importance of these needs in understanding gang involvement. Parents would also be sensitized to signs of gang involvement, to building skills for maintaining open communication with their adolescent children, and to constructively guide their children toward positive alternatives.

Parents would be encouraged to participate in writing the newsletter. They would also be provided with vital information and resources critical to their children's success (i.e. college requirements, job training programs, and counseling services).

Community Linkage

The final aspect of the program would consist of a variety of alternative activities and services, co-sponsored by the school and community, which are designed to divert students from gang involvement. In addition, community groups and churches would work closely with the school in the development and evaluation of services. Below are listed some examples of community-based programs which have been found to be successful in different neighborhoods:

(1) Community-based sport programs (i.e., midnight basketball league). In this type of program, adolescents in the community participate in competitive athletics 5 days a week. Such programs are conducted during the times when gang violence is most likely to occur (12:00am-3:00am). Oakland's midnight league consistently has a long waiting list and has received nationwide acclaim for both diverting potential gang members and getting gangs off the street.

(2) Peace days. Peace days are day-long conferences, during which gang members agree to a no violence, no colors truce. Members from rival gangs congregate in local community centers or schools and listen to inspirational speakers, participate in discussion groups, attend educational workshops, and formulate proposals for rebuilding their communities.

(3) Creative arts programs. The idea behind these programs is to give young people an alternative to participating in sports programs and gang activities. Activities include mural painting, poetry workshops, development of musical and theatrical arts talents. These programs have had wide support from celebrities in the entertainment and arts industries.

(4) Job training and business internships. Direct links are made between schools and vocational programs newly created or already existing in the community. Businesses (e.g. auto body shops, newspapers, retail stores, etc.) provide internships to high school students and hire individuals part-time, while they are in school, upon successful completion of the program.

(5) Other types of self enhancement classes. These classes would be offered through the School-Community Partnership. (Some suggested themes are life-management skills, GED classes, self-esteem classes, etc.)

(6) Counseling. Free professional counseling and support would be offered for those individuals involved with a gang, but wishing to leave.

The structure proposed here is just one example of the type of program that would be effective in deterring gang involvement and providing constructive alternatives. It must be kept in mind that the specific details of any intervention must consider the needs of the community and have an effective evaluation component in place. Furthermore, financial support for the program must be maintained for substantial changes to result.

References

Cloward, R. A. (1959). Illegitimate means, anomie, and deviant behavior. *American Sociological Review*, *24*, 164-176.

Cohen, A. K. (1966). *Deviance and control*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Cohn, B., Hammill, R., & Turque, B. (1992, May 25). Bush's weed and seed: Cultivating the cities. *Newsweek*, p. 28.

Cressey, D. R., & Sutherland, E. H. (1978). *Criminology* (10th edition).

Davis, M. (1990). *City of quartz*. New York: Vintage Press.

Dolan, E., & Finey, S. (1984). *Youth gangs*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Dunham, H. W., & Faris, R. E. L. (1965). *Mental disorders in urban areas*.

The Futurist (September-October, 1991). Demographics (pp. 51-2).

Glaser, D. (1956). Criminality theories and behavior images. *American Journal of Sociology*, *vol*. *61*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Gurule, J. (1992, January). *Bureau of Justice Statistics*: *National Update*. *vol*.*1*(3).

Hagedorn, J. M. (1991). Gangs, neighborhoods, and public policy. *Social Problems*, *38*(4), 529-539.

Leerhsen, C. (1991, June 17). Going like gangbusters. *Newsweek*, pp. 58-59.

Little, C. B., & Traub, S. H. (Eds.) (1985). *Theories of deviance* (3rd edition). Cortland, NY: F. E. Peacock Publishers.

Matza, D. (1964). *Deliquency and drift*. New York: John Wiley.

Matza, D., & Sykes, G. M. (1957). Techniques of neutralization: A Theory of delinquency. *American Sociological Review*, *22*, 664-670.

Merton, R. K. (1968). *Social theory and social structure*. New York: The Free Press.

McLaughlin, S., et al. (1988). *Changing lives of American women*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

National Crime Victimization Study (1991, January). Bureau of Justice Statistics: National Update. vol.1(3).

Novello, A. (1991). Violence is a greater killer of children than disease. *Journal of the U.S. Public Health service: Public Health Reports*. *106*(3), [illegible]-233.

Ostos, T. (1991). Alternatives to gang membership: The Paramount plan. *Journal of the U.S. Public Health Service: Public Health Reports*.*106*(*3*), 341.

Prosecutor says problem exists, but in "traditional" way. 1991, August 14). *Pueblo* (Colorado) *Chieftain*.

Roper, W. (1991). The prevention of minority youth violence must begin despite risks and imperfect understanding. *Journal of the U.S. Public Health Service*: *Public Health Reports*, *106*(*3*), 229-231.

Rubington, E., & Weinberg, M. S. (1968). *Deviance*: *The interactionist perspective*. New York: The MacMillan Company.

San Jose East Side Union High School District (1992). *Streetwise*: *Schools-community anti-gang/drug program*. San Jose, CA.

Sanchez-Jankowski, M. (1991). *Islands in the street*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Stanley, A. (1990, June 18). Child warriors. *Time*, pp. 30-52.

Thomas, W. I., & Znaniecki, F. (1920). *The Polish peasant in Europe and America*, *Vol IV*. Boston: The Gorham Press.

Thrasher, F. M. (1963). *The gang*. University of Chicago Press.

Vigil, J. D. (1988). *Barrio gangs*: *Street life and identity in southern California*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Vold, G. B. (1958). *Theoretical criminology*. Oxford University Press.

Willwerth, J. (1991, November 18). From killing fields to mean streets. *Time*, 103-106.

Wilson, W. J. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged*: *The Inner city*, *the underclass*, *and public policy*. University of Chicago Press.

Yablonsky, L. (1959). The gang delinquent as a near-group. *Social Problems*, *7*, 108-116.

DRAFT VERSION ONLY: [illegible]

COMMENTS WELCOMED

Chapter 4

TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF HATE CRIMES

Cory A. Booker

John F. Damrose

Jim J. Hinckley

Abstract

This paper briefly reviews what is currently known about crimes of hate in American society. Although hate crimes have undoubtedly threatened our citizenry and harmed our communities for decades, they have only recently been publicly acknowledged as a growing issue of societal concern. This review begins with a discussion of how crimes of hate are defined. What delimits hate crimes from other criminal acts is the offender's motivation to threaten or harm another based on physical and ideological differences related to race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation. Next, the authors discuss the problem of the elusive nature and underreporting of these crimes, which make the accurate assessment of incidence problematic, particularly when discriminatory and prejudicial intentions must often be determined before a crime can be classified as hate-motivated. In addition, the variability of legal definitions, or the absence thereof, makes it difficult to assess the extent of this problem on a national scale. The remainder of the paper focuses upon the complex interplay of historical, cultural, situational, sociological, and psychological elements that can contribute to crimes of hate and violence. Specifically, a number of theories are reviewed which might shed light on the problem. The paper concludes by suggesting intervention strategies. It is noted that the success of any strategy is likely to be contingent upon the energetic cooperation between the legal system, police departments, and community-based agencies.

Definition of a Hate Crime

Defining hate crimes and identifying when they have been committed are problematic issues. The following official definition was drafted by the California Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics, and appeared in the Attorney General's report on hate crimes in 1990:

> A reportable hate crime is any act to cause physical injury, emotional suffering, or property damage which is or appears to be motivated, all or in part, by race, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation. (p.15)

The Attorney General's report recommended the following criteria be used in determining whether a crime was in fact motivated by prejudice with respect to race, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation:

> 1. The presence of symbols, words, or acts which are, or may be offensive to a specific race, ethnic group, religious group, or persons with differing sexual orientation (swastika, cross burning, "nigger," "queer," etc.)
> 2. Statements or actions of the victim(s), suspect(s), and other involved parties
> 3. Prior history of similar crimes in the same area or against the same victim group
> 4. Whether community organizations, leaders or a number of residents perceive or claim the crime to be motivated by bias against an individual or group's race, ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation (p.16)

If one examines the Justice Department's official definition, it becomes clear that the fundamental factor in labeling a hate crime is the motivation of the offender. Deciphering an assailant's motivation, however, is often difficult, as is illustrated in the following examples of cases reported to the Los Angeles Police Department:

> 1. A drug sale between a Black and a White goes sour, and racial insults are used in the ensuing fight.
> 2. A Lebanese couple is assaulted by a group of "Skinheads," who incorrectly assume the couple is Jewish.
> 3. Two Jewish neighbors have a falling out and one of them, in an effort to frighten the other, spray paints a swastika and anti-Semitic slogans in the first neighbor's driveway.

> 4. A city bus is spray painted with racial insults as it sits in a particular neighborhood; no one seems to care until the bus later passes through another neighborhood, where the spray painting is taken to be offensive. (Berk, Boyd, & Hammer, 1992, p.125).

Defining a crime as hate-motivated is especially difficult when dealing with crimes committed by organized hate groups. These groups usually know that it is not in their best interest to clearly identify their motives. An undercover police officer who had infiltrated hate groups in South Florida stated that "they (hate groups) tell their members, 'If you attack, don't tell the victim why and don't tell him who you are'" (Swarn, 1992, p.2). This kind of conscious cover-up exacerbates the difficulty of determining the intent of assailants.

Incidence of Hate Crimes

Because of the difficulty in identifying hate crimes, it follows that there are tremendous difficulties in measuring incidence. Without proper collection systems accurate statistical gathering becomes impossible. Not surprisingly, the data that are currently reported to officials do not provide an accurate description of the scope of the problem. Data on hate crimes usually come from local law enforcement and advocacy groups. According to Berk et al. (1992), these organizations are likely to produce serious underestimates. Victims often choose not to report a hate crime because they fear the police will be unsympathetic. Furthermore, most local law enforcement agencies do not have a systematic way to identify and record hate-motivated crimes. Advocacy and service organizations usually use statistics derived from calls to telephone hot lines, but often victims within their own communities do not feel comfortable in publicly reporting attacks. Agencies that have made an effort to record and investigate reports of hate crimes encounter problems getting accurate statistics regarding incidence due to the ambiguity that surrounds the issue of what constitutes "motive" (Berk et al., 1992). In fact, an incident is likely to be labeled as simple assault or harassment if there is any question about the attacker's motivation.

The problems associated with measurement have been noted by the California legislature and steps have been taken to establish a more effective system of reporting hate-motivated crimes. In 1986, California Senate Bill 39 was introduced. It required the State's Department of Justice to:

> [a]quire data to be used for statistical analysis concerning any crime or attempted crime which causes physical injury, or property damage, which is, or appears to be motivated by the race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity of the victim. Local law enforcement agencies shall report those crimes to the department in a manner prescribed by the Attorney General. (Berk et al., 1992, p.123)

This bill eventually passed, but without an appropriation of funds, thereby counteracting its effectiveness. A comparable bill was passed in 1990 with a financial appropriation, but due to a lack of state funds, it has yet to be implemented. Thus six years after the California Senate first identified the need for a more uniform hate crime reporting system, the 1990 State Attorney General's report on hate crimes revealed that the following crucial facts were unknown: (1) how many hate crimes occurred during the past year; (2) what types of hate crimes occurred and which groups were most often victimized; and (3) what were the basic trends in hate crimes (Berk et al., 1992).

Nationwide, there is a tremendous void in statistics on hate crimes. Awareness at the federal level, however, has recently begun to surface. In

February, 1990, the United States Senate passed a federal hate crime reporting law similar to the one the California senate passed in 1986 (Attorney General's Report, 1990). As a result, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is currently compiling data on the number of hate-motivated crimes reported in the United States. They are hampered in this endeavor by the fact that many states have different definitions of the offense or have no hate crime law at all.

The failure to implement the 1990 California hate crime reporting bill has resulted in very speculative statewide statistics. Berk et al. (1992) estimated that 3,000 hate crimes are reported in California in any given year. This figure is based on a study of five selected areas with extrapolation to the entire state. This method is open to criticism because of the nonrandom, nonprobability nature of the samples. The Attorney General's Report in 1990 offered another statewide statistic from data collected by the National Lesbian and Gay Task Force. This group reported that there were 561 hate crimes against lesbians and gays in California in 1988. It is evident, however, that the applicability of this kind of data is limited because it is drawn from selected segments of the population.

Sometimes local statistics are more viable and less speculative. According to Officer Bargioni of the Hate Crimes Unit of the San Francisco Police Department (in a talk given at Stanford University in May, 1992), there were 401 reported hate crimes in that city in 1991. The California Attorney General's Report (1990) stated that approximately 300 hate crimes had been reported to police in the city of Concord since 1986. Statistics such as these, which are derived from defined areas, are somewhat closer to the mark, as they are based on actual reports rather than inferred estimates. However, although such reports help to give an idea of the scope of the problem, they by no means accurately represent the total number of crimes committed that are hate-motivated, for the number of unreported attacks will most likely never be known.

In 1991, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith released its annual "Audit of Anti-Semitic Events." This annual report includes the number of states with hate crime statutes and the comprehensiveness of these statutes. In recent years, according to the report, 46 states have put into effect measures that make it a crime to burn crosses, display Nazi emblems, or otherwise convey religious bias and hatred. States such as California and Connecticut have extensive legislation in the area of hate crimes, whereas states such as Arkansas and Nevada have no hate crime statutes at all. Among states that do not have a hate crime law in effect, incidents such as assault are prosecuted with regard to the act in and of itself, without attempting to decipher the attacker's motivation.

In some states (e.g. Minnesota), the law has declared that it is a crime to commit symbolic acts of hatred on the basis of religion, ethnicity, etc. In other states (e.g. California), there are increased penalties for committing an act that would normally be defined as criminal, if a motive of hate is also proven. An example of the consequences of the disparity among states with respect to hate crime laws is the case against John Metzger, the founder of the White Aryan Resistance hate group, who was convicted for inciting skinheads to murder a black man in Portland, Oregon. If the attack had taken place in a state without hate crime legislation, Metzger would no doubt feel free to continue actively instigating hate crimes. However, the constitutionality of many state hate crime laws is presently under scrutiny. A Supreme Court ruling on June 22, 1992, struck down a St. Paul, Minnesota, ordinance aimed at those who burn crosses, display swastikas, or otherwise express religious and racial hatred, citing the First Amendment right to free speech. This ruling implies that symbolic acts of hatred cannot be deemed criminal in themselves (Savage, 1992).

In summary, any systematic analysis of hate crimes and their perpetrators must contend with several methodological concerns. The data which currently exist rest on unclear and various definitions of hate crimes and are therefore likely to significantly underestimate the number of crimes actually committed. Much of the official data come from advocacy groups and police departments. Advocacy groups have access to or focus on certain segments of the population (such as gays and ethnic minorities), while ignoring other segments. Police do not receive reports from many individuals affected by hate crimes, because of the victims' fears of not being taken seriously.

An additional methodological problem concerns the relatively small number of individuals who have been successfully prosecuted under existing hate crime statutes. Research on characteristics of perpetrators must contend with a small and highly select sample. Generalizing results form such samples to the rest of the population would therefore be difficult at best. Finally, those individuals who are apprehended for perpetrating hate crimes tend to be adolescents operating in groups; thus, any actual "hate motivation" may be confounded with other factors, such as juvenile delinquency, need for peer group acceptance, boredom, or other factors. It is clear that any attempt to study the motivations for hate crimes can be an extremely difficult undertaking.

Macro-Social Factors Associated with Hate Crimes

Although the actions of organized hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan are notorious, present statistics indicate that informal groups perpetrate the majority of hate crimes (Herek, 1992a). Consequently, the focus of this analysis will be upon the complex interplay of historical, cultural, situational, sociological, and psychological elements that can contribute to more generalized crimes of hate and violence. As a 1982 California report stated, "Most scholars have generally agreed that racial and ethnic conflict is rarely attributable to some single factor, but is usually the result of a complex mixture of forces" (Governor's Task Force on Civil Rights, 1982, p.39).

There are numerous sociological and psychological theories which can be used to explain hate-motivated crimes. However, before examining these theories, we first must consider other likely contributing factors that seem to reflect longstanding cultural biases. These biases are manifestations of macro-social processes and historical prejudices. For example, as the report of the 1982 California Governor's Task Force on Civil Rights revealed, "Social institutions—the family, the school, the churches—become 'transmission belts' carrying the language and symbols of anti-semitism down through the generations, where they lodge just beneath the surface of ordinary social life" (p.48).

These historical-cultural biases may lie dormant until a particular circumstance or incident sparks a violent and hateful response. In California, for example, increase in the proportion of minority populations has possibly threatened the racial-ethnic balance of power in certain areas, accounting for the rise in hate violence. As California Lieutenant Governor McCarthy stated in his recent report on hate crimes, "The steadily increasing diversity of California's population and the economic downturn and increased unemployment of the last two years have strongly influenced the increase in hate crimes during that same period" (Lieutenant Governor's Report, 1992, p.3).

The media have also been identified as an element that contributes to the rising incidence of hate-motivated crimes (Lieutenant Governor's Report, 1992). News and entertainment media often distort images of minorities. These distorted images aggravate the fears and anxieties of subgroups among the dominant population, further entrenching racial stereotypes. Fear-engendered hatred, if triggered, can often have violent manifestations.

San Francisco Police Hate Crimes Officer Bargioni, in her talk at Stanford University in May, 1992, described how many officially recognized hate groups bask in the attention they receive from the media. Public exposure offers these groups a platform from which to perpetuate their dangerous racial myths. Additionally, such publicity tends to exaggerate the size and magnitude of these organizations and their influence. An example of the misrepresentation of hate groups was documented in a recent U.S. Civil Rights Commission pamphlet:

> In Missouri, a television report of racial tensions at a college included an interview with a Klan representative, sandwiched between other campus interviews, conveying the erroneous impression that the Klan was active on the campus and leading to a deluge of calls to the

> school from frightened parents. (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1990, p.16)

Politicians also use the media to play upon the fears and anxieties of the local populace. For example, in his most recent electoral race in North Carolina, Senator Jesse Helms used the image of a black man taking the job of a white man in an attempt to win votes. Divisive images such as this can exacerbate group tensions and potentially lead to violence.

Shifts in political ideology, motivated by broad-scale economic trends, constitute another macro-influence on the spread of hate-motivated violence. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights described this negative influence:

> In addition to the perception that government authority will not be imposed upon violators of civil rights, there may be those who assume that the perceived shift toward a conservative political philosophy in recent years provided license to express and act out their racial and religious hostility. These people frequently describe themselves as true (white) patriots who place (white) America first and are prepared to defend (white) democracy from its enemies. (1990, p.17)

A further example of this brand of "patriotic" racism can be seen in many of the hate crimes that were committed against Arab American citizens during the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Lieutenant Governor's Report, 1992).

Finally, among macro-sociological influences conducive to hate crimes are certain legal mandates, formal policies, institutional attitudes, and informal procedures of our law enforcement system, all of which generally reflect prevailing social biases and prejudices. Police failure to respond adequately to hate-motivated violence, district attorneys' unwillingness to prosecute, and judges' reluctance to impose sufficient penalties can all be interpreted as sanctioning and encouraging future crimes. The 1986 report by the Attorney General's Commission on Racial, Ethnic, Religious and Minority Violence attributed the problem to a general lack of training:

> Law enforcement officials, police officers, and prosecutors are essential in efforts to respond to and prevent hate violence but, often they are not trained to handle situations involving violence motivated by bigotry. Lack of training produces inadequate and inappropriate responses that exacerbate community tensions. (p.51)

That these community tensions can be inflamed to the point of incendiary violence was illustrated in the 1992 riots in East-Central Los Angeles. The spontaneous and catastrophic riots were sparked by the refusal of a white jury to convict Los Angeles police officers for using excessive force in the arrest of black motorist, Rodney King. A decade earlier, the California Governor's Task Force offered a foreboding statement concerning racial violence, when it reported, "Police-community antagonisms have reached a potentially explosive level in many communities in the State" (Governor's Task Force, 1982, vi).

Sociological and Psychological Explanations for Hate Crimes

This section will present an overview of selected sociological and psychological research which can help explain why hate crimes are committed. Because of the relative newness of hate crime statutes and the paucity of data on the perpetrators of hate crimes, little empirical work has actually been conducted in this area. Thus insights into the nature of hate crimes must be drawn from sociological research conducted in related areas, such as ethnic antagonism, the phenomenon of "minimal groups," and intergroup conflict and cooperation, together with psychological research into the functions of the authoritarian personality, frustration and aggression, stereotyping, beliefs and attitudes, and dehumanization and deindividuation.

In the area of sociology, particular attention will be paid to the theories of ethnic antagonism proposed by Bonacich (1972, 1973) and the theory

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

of cultural heterosexism proposed by Herek (1992a). Bonacich focused on the roles of the "middleman minority" and the split labor market in promoting ethnic conflict. Herek's ideas focus on the role of cultural institutions in sanctioning violence against gay men and lesbians. Together, these theories help us understand how sociocultural factors may ultimately influence hate crimes.

Research at the group, individual, and phenomenological levels has been conducted extensively within the field of social psychology. This research not only helps to explain how sociocultural factors influence action at the group and individual levels, it also provides key insights into the importance of group dynamics (e.g. Sherif & Sherif, 1953; Sherif et al., 1961; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971), individual personality and experience (e.g. Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Hovland & Sears, 1940; Miller & Bugelski, 1948), and basic cognitive processes (e.g. Allport, 1954; Campbell, 1967; Herek, 1992b; Zimbardo, 1970) in explaining hate crimes.

Sociocultural Explanations

Split Labor Markets and the Middleman Minority

Bonacich (1972, 1973) described two phenomena which are important for our understanding of ethnic antagonism and hate crimes: the split labor market and the middleman minority. Ethnic antagonism can arise from a labor market split along ethnic lines, that is, when two groups of workers are paid differentially for the same type and amount of work. A split labor market develops when one group of workers (usually the new immigrant group) is willing to work for much less pay than another group of workers (the already established group). As a consequence, management may use (or threaten to use) this cheaper labor force in order to keep higher priced labor in line. As Bonacich explained, "Business tries to pay as little as possible for labor, regardless of ethnicity, and is held in check by the resources and motives of labor groups. Since these often vary by ethnicity, it is common to find ethnically split labor markets" (1972, p.553).

According to Bonacich, antagonism spreads far beyond the immediate situation facing a particular group of workers. "When one ethnic group is decidedly cheaper than another, the higher paid worker faces more than the loss of his job; he faces the possibility that the wage standard in all jobs will be undermined by cheaper labor" (1972, p.554).

Bonacich argued that, typically, there are two reasons why one ethnic group will be willing to work for less pay than another. First, the original wage agreement between business and new labor often takes place in the immigrant group's geographical point of origin. Hence those belonging to a particular ethnic group tend to expect similar initial wages. Second, nations or peoples that have lived relatively separately from one another are likely to have developed different employment motives and levels of resources. Consequently the desire or ability of two ethnic groups to bargain for wages is likely to be quite different.

The concept of the middleman minority is also important to our understanding of ethnic conflict. Some ethnic groups play an intermediate rather than a low-status position in some societies and tend to concentrate in certain occupations. These groups often play the role of middleman between producer and consumer groups and absorb much of the hostility between the two groups. Thus some ethnic groups frequently find themselves the "middleman" in a conflict between management and workers, and often bear the hostility from both fronts.

The willingness of some middleman minority groups to withstand this two-pronged hostility stems from their status as "sojourners." These immigrants intend to stay only a short while in the host country, earning enough money so that they may retire in comfort to their home countries. The knowledge that they will someday return to a more hospitable land fortifies their resolve in the face of adversity and heightens their reluctance to assimilate into the host culture. Middleman minorities tend to hire only their own family members, are reluctant to enter into community politics unless their well-being is directly affected, and hold firmly to their own language and culture. Their unwillingness to assimilate into the host culture gives them the appearance of being parasites or traitors.

Bonacich's theories are relevant to this investigation of hate crimes for several reasons. First, they recognize the importance of society-wide economic factors which can inflame ethnic tensions to the point of violence. Second, they are useful for predicting which ethnic groups may be vulnerable to hate crimes. Third, they view ethnic antagonism as a rational response to difficult situations and therefore amenable to rational solutions.

There are limitations to Bonacich's ideas, however. Theories of split labor markets or middleman minorities are more useful for predicting actions against groups than against individuals. They are better suited to explain the development of caste systems or exclusion movements. Thus, they may provide an explanation of why an individual might be motivated to commit hate crimes (e.g. because that person belongs to a threatened wage group), but they do not adequately explain why one individual may commit such a crime while another from the same group does not. Other factors are clearly involved.

Split labor markets undoubtedly contributed to the ethnic tensions experienced in the United States at the turn of the century, when large numbers of European and Asian immigrant groups were competing simultaneously for economic security. It is arguable, however, whether split labor markets actually exist today in the United States, on any large scale. Immigration quotas have vastly curtailed the numbers of persons who legally enter this country and subsequently pose a threat to higher-priced labor. On the other hand, large numbers of undocumented aliens still enter California across the Mexican border, taking thousands of jobs as farm hands and working in many other low-paying positions. Thus, it may be argued that in some areas, at least, hostility against illegal aliens (and Mexican-American citizens who may be perceived as illegal aliens) can be partly accounted for by split labor markets and set the stage for hate crimes.

Cultural Heterosexism

Gays and lesbians comprise a social group which is not in direct economic competition with other groups, yet they frequently suffer violent attacks from some quarters of society. Gregory Herek (1992a) has proposed that our society maintains a "culture of heterosexism," which actively promotes violence against gays and lesbians through a powerful and cohesive anti-homosexual rationale. He defined cultural heterosexism as an "ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship, or community" (p.89). According to Herek, "anti-gay violence and victimization in the United States today cannot adequately be understood apart from cultural heterosexism. By alternately denying and stigmatizing homosexuality, this ideology creates the conditions under which lesbians and gay men can be routinely victimized" (p.101).

Cultural heterosexism is manifested in four major institutions: religion, law, psychiatry/psychology, and mass media. Each of these institutions plays a role in stigmatizing socioerotic displays of homosexuality and in reinforcing traditional norms of appropriate masculine and feminine roles that homosexuals are seen to violate. Judeo-Christian dogma, for example, stresses the virtues of marriage and child bearing. Because homosexual couples are not allowed legal status in our society, and cannot reproduce, their union is automatically stigmatized as going against "the will of God" and the "natural order of things." Furthermore, homosexuals increasingly defy cultural assumptions regarding public behavior. As Herek pointed out, "When gay people engage in behaviors allowed for heterosexuals (such as holding hands or kissing), they make public what society has prescribed should be private. They are accused of flaunting their sexuality and thereby are perceived as deserving or even asking for retribution, harassment, or assault" (1992a, p.95). Heterosexuals therefore benefit from a double standard, which permits them to express their sexuality publicly without being penalized for doing so.

The American legal system has repeatedly failed to extend anti-discrimination laws in housing and employment to homosexuals. Until 1980, homosexuality was classified as a mental disorder among American psychiatrists and psychologists. The International Classification of Diseases still lists homosexuality as a disorder. Finally, negative and damaging stereotypes of homosexuals are widely portrayed in movies and on television (Herek, 1992a),

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

whereas few attempts have been made to acknowledge their many contributions to society.

Considering anti-gay attacks within a cultural context of heterosexism offers at least two insights into the motivations of attackers. First, individuals may select gay men and lesbians as targets for their attacks because they know there will be little threat of punishment from the law, peers, or society as a whole. One "gay basher" explained,

> We're just doing "social work"—that's what I call it....It's like when you hit a home run at a stadium—you get a message across—and I think that's what people are doing sitting at home reading about these so-called crimes. I think they are cheering it on. One less faggot, what does it mean to the world? (Collins, 1992, p.196)

A second insight offered by this theory is that attackers may be motivated to attack gay men and lesbians in an effort to affirm their own heterosexuality. As Herek explained it: "Pressures to affirm one's heterosexuality may become even more intense for adolescents and young adults, especially males. In the absence of effective violence-prevention programs, this pressure may foster an increase in anti-gay attacks by young males strongly concerned about their own sexuality and social acceptance" (1992a, p.100).

What explains hate crimes perpetrated against individuals who are not identified as belonging to an aberrant or economically competing group? Why are some individuals targeted for violence while others are not? How do individuals come to perceive themselves as part of an in-group? How are out-group members defined? Sociocultural explanations of hate crimes are severely limited in their ability to answer such questions. Research into arbitrarily defined groups, as well as research at individual and phenomenological levels, can provide important insight into these questions that sociocultural research cannot.

Group Level Explanations

Minimal Groups

Research on minimal groups has been conducted extensively by Tajfel and his colleagues (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel, 1978, 1981, 1982; Tajfel et al., 1971). A "minimal group" is a social group created entirely at random, its members assigned to the group completely by chance. Tajfel's research has shown that merely the perception of belonging to a group is often enough to bias an individual's attitudes and behaviors in favor of fellow group members. Likewise, Lippa (1990) found that individuals tend to value their own group more, to reward members of their group more than members of an out-group, and to rate the work of their group's members as higher in quality. What makes this research so provocative is that these social groups were arbitrarily and experimentally created. Thus, members had no sense of shared history or experience, apart from having been selected for their particular group. Even when they were denied direct contact with other members of their assigned group, however, individuals still evidenced more positive attitudes toward their own group than to a perceived out-group.

A classic example of the minimal group phenomenon was demonstrated in a 1971 experiment by Tajfel and his colleagues. Subjects in this study were shown pictures of dots and were asked to quickly estimate the number of dots they saw. The subjects were then assigned to either an "over-estimator" group or an "under-estimator" group, supposedly based on their responses. In actuality, however, the assignments were made at random. When later given the chance to allocate points to other subjects that could be exchanged for money, both the "under-estimators" and the "over-estimators" allocated more points to members of their own group than to members of the opposite group.

In this study, the subjects had reason to believe that there was some reason for their selection into a particular group. They knew, for example, that all members of their own group supposedly shared similar perceptual abilities. Such a belief, by itself, may account for a sense of group solidarity and may lead members to value others in their group over members of other groups (Lippa, 1990). Some researchers have gone to even greater lengths, in assigning group membership, to emphasize a minimum of shared characteristics; for example, by openly flipping a coin in front of their subjects. Nonetheless, subjects assigned in this fashion have likewise displayed strong in-group favoritism and out-group denigration (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Locksley, Ortiz, & Hepburn, 1980).

Various researchers have attempted to explain minimal group findings in terms of self-esteem. Oakes and Turner (1980) showed, for example, that individuals derive significantly higher levels of self-esteem from demonstrating in-group favoritism. Meindl and Lerner (1984) demonstrated that "an experience of personal failure (and the lowered self-esteem that results) sets a process in motion whereby individuals become highly sensitive to group status in situations that call for responses based on their in-group memberships" (p.71). In their experiment, English-speaking Canadian subjects who suffered a blow to their self-esteem were significantly more likely to denigrate French-speaking Canadians than were control subjects.

Taken together, these studies suggest that "establishing a positive differentiation from an out-group depends at least as much on denigrating that out-group as on lauding one's own in-group" (Hamner, 1992, p.181). Thus, individual self-esteem is not only heightened by the accomplishments of one's own group, it is also heightened by the short-comings of a rival group (Tajfel, 1981, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It is important to note, however, that while these social psychological experiments may help explain in-group versus out-group behavior, they do not necessarily explain in-group versus out-group violence.

In questioning why people commit hate crimes, minimal group research suggests that individuals who identify with a particular group are motivated to strike out against other groups--whether gays, Jews, Blacks, Whites, Asians, or whatever--because such actions "prove" the superiority of their own group and consequently enhance their own level of self-worth. The key argument advanced by this research is that it is not enough for members to define themselves as the in-group; denigration of a targetted out-group is also necessary to shore up their self-esteem.

Intergroup Competition and Prejudice

Perhaps the best known research on intergroup competition and prejudice was conducted by Sherif and associates in the 1950s and 1960s (Sherif, 1966; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961; Sherif & Sherif, 1953). In their early experiments, these researchers brought two groups of young boys into competition with one another to see whether prejudice would emerge between them. In later experiments, Sherif tried to discover how such prejudice could be diffused.

In their first experiment, Sherif and Sherif (1953) recruited young boys to participate for several weeks at a summer camp. The boys were randomly assigned to one of two groups and a series of competitions was arranged between the two groups. The winning group would receive highly valued camping knives, while the losing group would receive nothing. Within a short while, the two groups began to display marked hostility toward each other. They engaged in name calling, sabotaged each other's bunk houses, raided each other's group meetings, and, on several occasions, had to be restrained from physically fighting each other.

In a follow-up to this study, Sherif and his colleagues (1961) attempted to determine whether prejudice could be diffused once it had been started. As in the first experiment, boys were randomly assigned to one of two groups and the groups then competed for a scarce and valuable prize. Once again, the competition escalated precipitously to the point of name calling and physical confrontation. At the height of their animosity, Sherif created a series of situations that would require the two groups to cooperate. For example, a truck that was to carry the boys to a cookout became stuck in the mud, and both groups had to work together to free it. In another situation, a leak developed in a mile-long pipe that brought water to the camp. Finding the leak and restoring the camp's water supply required the cooperation of both groups.

In effect, Sherif had created a series of superordinate goals, that is, goals which (1) were of high appeal value for both groups, (2) could not be ignored by the groups in question, and (3) whose attainment was beyond the limited resources and separate efforts of either group. Prejudice, they found, seems to be at least partly a function of the absence of such goals. As Sherif and his colleagues concluded:

> Our findings indicate that the limiting condition determining friendly or hostile attitudes between groups is the nature of functional relations between them, as defined by analysis of their goals; when the groups competed for goals which could be attained by only one group, to the dismay and disappointment of the other, hostile deeds and unflattering labels developed in relation to one another. (1961, p.208)

Summary

Research on minimal groups and intergroup competition provides us with important insights into the nature of hate crimes. This research suggests that an individual's sense of self-esteem is at least partially linked to the status of his/her particular in-group. Individuals will be motivated to denigrate a particular out-group if such actions boost the overall status of one's own group. This research also tells us that intergroup competition can produce prejudice, particularly when the contest is for scarce resources that are highly valued by both groups, and when there must clearly be a winner and a loser in the struggle. On a more optimistic note, this research also indicates that prejudice and conflict will be reduced if two competing groups can cooperate in order to secure superordinate goals.

Individual Level Explanations

Research at the societal and group levels has explored how sociocultural factors and group dynamics may play a role in encouraging the display of hate-motivated violence. Research at the group level has particularly addressed the link between self-esteem and group status, and has suggested that the denigration of certain out-groups can sustain and increase this status. What limits the applicability of this research to the subject at hand is that it is unclear when hate crimes are committed by groups motivated by a common ideology, and when they are committed by individuals acting independently of any group affiliation. In addition, it is unclear when attacks against certain out-groups are truly hate motivated, and when the motivation for such attacks stems from other causes, such as boredom, peer pressure, or juvenile delinquency. Finally, whereas many people experience similar kinds of societal or group-level pressures, relatively few of them actually go on to commit a bona fide hate crime. Research on the authoritarian personality, and on frustration and aggression, can help to enhance our understanding of why some individuals take this extra step while others do not.

Authoritarian Personality

Research on the authoritarian personality was conducted by Adorno and his colleagues in the 1940s at the University of California at Berkeley (Adorno et al., 1950). These researchers were interested in the degree to which conservative, fascist, and rigid styles of thinking were related to prejudiced attitudes. To test this relationship, they administered several questionnaires which assessed subjects' attitudes toward Jews and other minorities, and toward conservative and fascist ideas. The researchers found that in comparison to non-prejudiced subjects, prejudiced subjects tended to be more economically and politically conservative, to endorse more fascist beliefs, and to engage in more black-and-white kinds of thinking. They also found that prejudiced individuals described themselves in unrealistically glowing terms, while non-prejudiced individuals described themselves in considerably more mixed terms.

To understand the sources of their differences, the researchers interviewed 40 prejudiced and 40 non-prejudiced individuals. They discovered that prejudiced individuals were far more likely than non-prejudiced individuals to have been raised by strict and punitive parents. However, the prejudiced individuals were far less likely to say anything outwardly derogatory about their parents, and many strongly endorsed their parents' child rearing practices. This finding led the researchers to speculate that prejudiced individuals may repress their anger toward their parents and direct it toward other individuals. Lippa (1990) has confirmed this conclusion:

> Ultimately, such children relieve their repressed hostilities and anxieties through various defense mechanisms....For example, they may engage in displacement--a venting of their aggression at safe targets (minority groups) rather than at true targets (mother). Or they may use the common defense mechanism of projection, in which they see all of their own hostilities and shortcomings in others. (p. 321)

Research on the authoritarian personality thus seeks to uncover personality traits which may predispose some people to commit hate crimes more than others. In particular, prejudiced individuals seem to be more willing than others to accept authority unquestioningly. They also seem unwilling or unable to think with cognitive sophistication. Subjects with authoritarian personalities may project their own feelings of inadequacy onto another person, thereby justifying their attack on that person. Some researchers have argued, for example, that anti-gay violence stems from feelings of latent homosexuality and a desire to destroy these feelings (e.g. Herek, 1992b). By projecting such feelings onto others, perpetrators of hate crimes can symbolically attack the source of these feelings, and reaffirm their own sense of self-worth.

Research on the authoritarian personality thus suggests that individuals may be motivated to commit hate crimes because, by making such groups as gays or lesbians the targets of their aggression, they are able to displace aggression that might otherwise be directed toward targets they cannot safely attack. Although this theory speaks cogently about the importance of being a member of a "safe" or "unsafe" group in our society, it probably overstates the role of psychological defense mechanisms in motivating hate crimes, at least for certain groups of attackers. For instance, adolescents operating in small groups may be motivated to attack gays for reasons other than hate (for example, out of boredom or peer pressure). However, individuals who are members of organized hate organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan or the White Aryan Resistance, may have darker motivations that border on the pathological. Thus, for these latter groups, research on the authoritarian personality may be more applicable.

Frustration and Aggression

In 1939, Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears published Frustration and Aggression, which argued that frustration always leads to aggression and that aggression is always caused by frustration (cited in Lippa, 1990, p.445). Since then, numerous studies have supported for this position, but in a considerably modified form. It is now recognized that frustration does not inevitably lead to aggression. Researchers now distinguish hostile aggression (aggression specifically intended to hurt another individual) from instrumental aggression (aggression aimed at securing a desired goal). Furthermore, it is now widely accepted that it is how individuals perceive events that determines whether or not the events are frustrating (Kulik & Brown, 1979).

Economic frustration, for instance, may be an important motivation in hate crimes. Hovland and Sears (1940) analyzed 4,761 cases of lynching in the South between the years 1882 and 1930. Of these cases, 71.1% (3,386) were lynchings of Blacks. The researchers found high correlations between the rise or fall of the price of cotton in any particular year and the number of lynchings in that year. These correlations ranged from .63 to .72.

Forty years later, Hepworth and West reanalyzed the these data, using modern analytic techniques. They also found significant correlations between cotton prices and the number of lynchings of Blacks, though their estimates were considerably more modest (around .43). In addition, they examined the possible correlation between the price of cotton and the number of Whites lynched during the same period. Their analysis did not reveal a significant correlation between cotton prices and the lynching of Whites, although Whites also tended to be lynched in greater numbers during more difficult economic times (Hepworth & West, 1988).

In another study, Miller and Bugelski (1948) measured the attitudes of White males toward Japanese and Mexicans before and after a frustrating event. Subjects were asked to check a list of 10 desirable and 10 undesirable traits as being present or absent in the average Japanese or Mexican. This list included such traits as "friendly," "selfish," "smart," "awkward," "stingy," and "clean." The subjects ascribed significantly fewer positive traits and more negative traits to these groups after the frustrating event than before it.

Summary

Research at the level of the individual suggests some important ways in which broader social forces may motivate some individuals to commit hate crimes. For example, it may be that economic competition or other frustrating events spur individuals to commit hate crimes, particularly if the targets of these crimes are members of relatively "safe" out-groups, such as homosexuals.

This research also ties together the work conducted on minimal groups and self-esteem, in that it suggests that lowered self-esteem may be an important source of frustration for some individuals and may lead them to attack members of perceived out-groups as a way of "proving" superiority. Those individuals raised by parents in a highly punitive fashion may exhibit an authoritarian personality, and may be drawn to participate in hate groups as a way of enhancing their self-esteem or of releasing pent up aggression.

Phenomenological Explanations

As indicated by our discussion to this point, individuals exhibit a great deal of variability in their willingness to commit hate crimes. Nevertheless, despite the influences of culture, economics, group pressure, upbringing, and frustration, most individuals still exert considerable control over their own actions. Indeed, given the multitude of negative societal influences that individuals seem to be subject to, it is surprising that hate crimes are not more common. Other, more basic influences seem to be at work, however, which may either encourage or inhibit the overt and destructive expression of hate. These include personal beliefs and attitudes, stereotypes, deindividuation, and dehumanization.

Psychological Heterosexism

In his discussion of heterosexism as individual psychological bias, Herek (1992b) proposed that individuals hold anti-gay beliefs and attitudes because they derive some personal benefit or satisfaction from doing so. In this regard, such beliefs and attitudes are said to be functional for the individual holding them. Herek maintained that psychological heterosexism is functional in that it increases one's sense of self-esteem, and that it can do so by serving either value-expressive functions, social-expressive functions, or ego-defensive functions.

Anti-gay attitudes perform a value-expressive function to the extent that they "enable people to affirm their belief in and adherence to important values that are closely related to their self-concepts" (p.153). Thus by denigrating homosexuality, individuals can affirm their sense of being, for example, good Christians. An anti-gay attitude may also perform a social-expressive function in that it "strengthens one's sense of belonging to a particular group and helps an individual to gain acceptance, approval, or love from other people whom she or he considers important" (p.154). Finally, anti-gay attitudes can serve ego-defensive functions. For some individuals who may experience anxiety about their own sexual identities, holding anti-gay attitudes may help them alleviate this anxiety. For example, "by rejecting (or even attacking) gay people, the defensive individual can deny that unacceptable aspect of him- or herself while also symbolically attacking it" (p.155). Although anti-gay beliefs may serve a variety of functions for the individuals holding them, they ultimately help people "to define who they are by directing hostility toward gay people as a symbol of what they are not" (p.156).

Stereotypes/Dehumanization/Deindividuation

Although there is little empirical data with which to construct a portrait of the typical perpetrator of hate crimes, many researchers argue that attacks are usually perpetrated by strangers or distant acquaintances (e.g. Berk et al., 1992). In addition, there is widespread agreement that hate-motivated attacks generally are carried out by "in-groups" against "out-groups." Given these two conditions, research on the nature of stereotypes, deindividuation, and dehumanization can provide important insight into what may ultimately motivate hate crime.

Stereotypes are cognitive simplifications which guide how we perceive people around us and how we process social information (Lippa, 1990). In essence, stereotypes enable humans to make sense of their environments through the categorization of similar stimuli. Research by Allport (1954) and Campbell (1967) showed that individuals are likely to possess more complex pictures of people they know well than of those they do not know. Lippa confirmed this view when he stated that "stereotypes unjustly portray out-groups more negatively than they portray in-groups, exaggerate group differences, and lead people to underestimate (and even ignore) the variability of people within other groups" (1990, p.310).

When individuals possess little information about an entire group of people, they are likely to be less concerned about the welfare of those people, particularly if the information they have is entirely negative. As Berk and his colleagues wrote: "Part of the explanation [for hate crimes] may be that existing stereotypes are especially likely to dominate the assailant's perceptions in interactions between strangers. That is, the perpetrator has very little countervailing, particularized information about the victim" (1992, p.131). Consequently, one group of people will be less concerned with another group's civil rights, and may be reluctant to extend to them equal protection under the law. They may also feel less inhibited in harming this group in some way, particularly if they are able to emotionally distance themselves from the victims (Berk et al., 1992). On the other hand, when people possess considerably more complex knowledge of an out-group, they may come to recognize

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the group's claim to equal treatment and protection. As a former gay basher responded when asked if he now knows any gay people:

> Yes. Some of them are really nice people, they've tried to help me. That's why I've had a change of heart. I can begin to see their point of view. They have possibilities and most of them are pretty smart.... I've read some literature on homosexuality and that, too, has helped me to straighten out my head a little. Before, all I had were stereotypes, now I've got more understanding, but I still have a long way to go. (Weissman, 1992, p.177)

Deindividuation and the dehumanization of a victim are also factors which may contribute to hate crimes. Deindividuation is a process by which people lose their personal identity upon being submerged within a group (Lippa, 1990). When this occurs, an "individual shows little self-observation, little consistency with internal standards, and lowered inhibitions" (p.596). When individuals act in conjunction with a larger group, they may feel a greater sense of anonymity and, consequently, a lowered sense of personal responsibility for their own acts (Zimbardo, 1970). Dehumanization is a process whereby the targets of one's violence are made less human through cognitive distortion. People cease being human beings and become "faggots," "niggers," "gooks," and so forth. Once out-groups become stigmatized as evil or degenerate, it becomes easier to justify violence against them.

Research into phenomenological factors behind hate crimes provides important insights into the motivations of perpetrators. When assailants attack in groups, they may be driven by incomplete and negatively biased information about their targets, a lowered sense of personal responsibility for their actions, and a distorted perception of the humanity of their targets.

Summary

The psychological and sociological research presented in this section provides important insight into the nature of hate crimes. Sociocultural, group, individual, and phenomenological factors all play a role in the perpetration of hate crimes. Although the correlative importance of each factor is yet indeterminate, it is clear that they all contribute significantly to our understanding of hate crimes.

Research on minimal groups and intergroup conflict, for example, can help us understand how split labor markets may ultimately promote inter-ethnic violence. When two or more ethnic groups must compete for few jobs, prejudice can often erupt into violence. Also, as suggested by research on deindividuation, it becomes easier to commit an act of violence when one perceives himself to be acting anonymously within a larger group. Finally, research on the authoritarian personality suggests that some individuals may be naturally drawn to participate in groups organized around hate and violence, and may derive a great deal of self-esteem from doing so.

Research on frustration helps us better understand how middleman minorities may become targets of hate crimes. For example, it may be that economic competition from middleman minorities may prove frustrating for some individuals attempting to compete in the same line of work. Frustration may also be experienced by those in whose communities middleman minorities reside. As noted, middleman minorities are often perceived as "parasites" who feed off the economy of a particular community but give nothing back. When economic hard times hit, middleman minorities may become convenient targets for attackers frustrated by inflation and unemployment, particularly if they seem to be prospering.

Research on stereotyping and dehumanization helps us better appreciate the impact of culture on hate crimes. For example, a culture of heterosexism

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

actively discourages homosexuality, forcing many gays and lesbians to remain "in the closet" regarding their sexual identities. The behavior of heterosexuals toward homosexuals may be easily influenced by stereotypes, then, especially if few homosexuals emerge to publicly discount these stereotypes. Furthermore, when little information is known about another group, or when this information is mostly negative, it becomes easier to dehumanize its members, to deny their civil rights as citizens and their fundamental rights as human beings.

It is important to point out that much of the research discussed in this section attempts to explain hate crimes from the perspective of the perpetrator, and on the level of individual psychology. The question repeatedly asked in this research has been "what motivates the individual to commit hate crimes?" It is equally important, however, to ask the question "what is the social climate that permits people to commit hate crimes with impunity?" Hate crimes are committed, at least in part, because many of our societal institutions and norms do nothing to discourage them. The violence against homosexuals provides a case in point:

> It is an important fact that anti-gay violence persists not solely because of individual psychology but also because of the structure of the society in which we live. Patterns of prejudice are normative, the result of social and historical processes. The maintenance and expression of anti-gay prejudice is possible primarily because it is in keeping with the current social norms. These norms are maintained, formally, through the routine operation of the major social institutions--school, church, mass media, and family (Ehrlich, 1992, p.107).

It should also be noted that very little research has gone into understanding the characteristics of the victims of hate crimes. Individuals are sometimes victimized for reasons more ambiguous than skin color or sexual orientation. Oftentimes, they may simply be vulnerable at particular key moments (Herek, 1992b). Intervention strategies which seek to lower the incidence of hate crimes should consider not only ways to undermine the motivations of perpetrators, but also ways to help vulnerable groups avoid potentially victimizing situations.

Intervention Strategies

It should be emphasized that in each of the following areas--data collection and reporting, victim assistance, community and religious organizations--the energetic cooperation of the police and the legal system are integral to the success of intervention strategies.

Data Collecting and Reporting

A fundamental step in any intervention strategy lies in defining the extent of the problem. As earlier indicated, there is a significant dearth of hate crime statistics due to inadequate reporting systems; therefore, there is little understanding regarding this national problem. Coordinated systems to facilitate the sharing of information are absent in many communities. As was noted in the Alameda County Hate Violence Prevention Plan,

> There is no specific protocol developed to facilitate the transfer of incident information from County Departments to the Sheriff's Department or any other law enforcement agency. It should also be noted that depending on where the incident occurred, the follow-up investigation might be referred to a local law enforcement agency, which may complicate the recovery of incident information. (1991, p.7)

Collecting and coordinating accurate hate crime information has the potential to fulfill a number of functions within communities. Recent recommendations by the Jewish Anti-Defamation League to law enforcement agencies regarding the handling of hate crimes pointed out the importance of maintaining accurate data (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1988). Their report stated that, first of all, a good reporting system enables community law enforcement agencies to know where to concentrate their efforts for prevention and enforcement. Second, "studies indicate that a special reporting system may increase reporting of these crimes by victims and have a salutary effect upon law enforcement prevention strategies" (p.3). Further, coordinated reporting systems demonstrate to communities that the police "have a genuine interest in the problem of hate crimes and a commitment to vigorously pursuing the perpetrators" (p.3). Finally, the report emphasized that improved reporting and data collection efforts heighten a community's awareness of hate crimes, and this increased awareness can result in broad-scale community efforts to prevent future bias-related crimes.

In addition to existing national hate crime recording requirements, we recommend four data collection and reporting procedures contained in the Alameda County Hate Violence Prevention Plan (1991, pp.5-6):

1. Officers should be better trained to distinguish hate crimes from other crimes.

2. Police officers should work in tandem with community groups in efforts to increase reporting. Community groups often have access to victims through bonds of trust and understanding. Police departments should establish similar ties with these groups and thereby create an environment in which victims feel comfortable reporting to police.

3. Statistics should be generously disseminated to community groups, schools, churches, etc., to aid in a community's efforts to successfully respond to and prevent bias-related crimes. As one report indicated,

> Information on hate crimes on school campuses is essential for educators and community decision makers. Community organizations are concerned about tensions and violence motivated by bigotry in schools but current school crime reporting does not specifically include those incidents. As a result, some school administrators and school boards were ignorant of building tensions until serious violence erupted. (Attorney General's Report, 1986, p.19)

4. Hate crime monitoring systems should extend to the reporting of non-criminal hate-motivated incidents. This information can be important in planning strategies for prevention, education, and training efforts.

Victim Assistance

Community response with aid to victims of hate crimes is essential. The National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives noted that,

> [v]ictims of racially and religiously targeted incidents incur damage to their homes and property, injury to their bodies and sometimes death. In addition to physical suffering, being victimized because of one's race religion, or national origin brings negative attention to one's differences, injures one's dignity and self-esteem, and makes one feel unwanted in the community, yet because most crimes against racial and religious minorities are not extremely violent, victims are usually not given any special attention or assistance. (Attorney General's Report, 1986, p.41)

Community groups and official institutions should be aware of the complexity of needs of hate crime victims. As the Anti-Defamation League noted:

> The damage done by hate crimes cannot be measured solely in terms of physical injury or dollars and cents. Hate crimes may effectively intimidate other members of the victim's community leaving them feeling isolated, vulnerable, and unprotected by the law. By making members of minority communities fearful, angry, and suspicious of other groups and of the power structure that is supposed to protect them--these incidents can damage the fabric of our society and fragment communities. (1988, p.1)

Assistance to victims of hate crimes must be looked upon as not simply reactive, but also preventative. By effectively responding to victims' needs, the reciprocal biases and prejudices that simmer within victim groups can be prevented from exploding in reactive or retaliatory hate violence.

Victims of hate violence generally express three needs: to feel safe, to know that people care, and to get assistance to meet special needs occasioned by the incident (Attorney General's Report, 1986). Hence we recommend the following proposals for more effectively meeting the needs of hate crime victims.

1. Toll-free hot lines need to be provided, to which victims could turn for information and assistance (see reports of the Attorney General, 1986, p.19; the Governor's Task Force, 1982, p.86; and the Lieutenant Governor's Task Force, 1992, p.18).

2. Officers who respond to hate crimes need to be trained to be sensitive to the victims' emotional and practical needs. Such sensitivity can prevent the aggravation of the deep psychological wounds that victims suffer.

3. When responding to hate crimes, officers should provide information to victims as to where they can get short-term counselling, which community groups could aid them, etc. Due to the variety of organizations dealing with hate crimes, it would be prudent to compile a resource directory for victims.

4. Officials from the police department should make follow-up visits to victims. These follow-up visits would aid in relieving fear and thus create an environment of trust for victims.

5. Community service organizations that provide support for victims should themselves receive adequate support. Greater financial support and stronger ties to police departments would enable community groups to better meet the needs of hate crime victims. As the Alameda County Hate Crime Prevention Plan

stated, "The effectiveness of community groups specifically dealing with hate violence would be greatly enhanced if formal liaisons between law enforcement agencies and these groups are established" (1991, p.11).

Community Organization Support

Community service organizations are important players in the prevention of and helpful response to hate crimes. A number of measures could be taken that would greatly enhance the efforts of these vital organizations.

1. Many community organizations possess special expertise with regard to issues of race, religion, sexual orientation, and differing cultures. These resources could greatly aid official agencies in their efforts (e.g. by providing assistance in training personnel in victim response). These under-utilized resources were recognized in the Alameda County Hate Violence Prevention Plan:

> Given the need for training and educational work, resources or expertise currently available within the community should be utilized to provide overall training for different organizations, and for county departments. Joint trainings could be organized and developed as part of personnel training...(1991, p.11)

2. Community organizations could also be valuable in working with local boards of education, school districts, and teachers in developing strategies for prevention and response (see Lieutenant Governor's Report, 1992. p.18).

3. Community service organizations could help to fill the gap between hate crime incidence and hate crime reporting. While many residents may trust their community-run organizations, they may not trust their local police. Through the establishment of police and community organization links, more victims would be encouraged to report crimes.

4. Many community organizations might be able to provide court and precinct accompaniment programs. A victim of a crime may find it physically difficult to get to a police station and also may find the rigors of a trial difficult to manage. Members of community organizations could accompany victims through the necessary procedures and lessen the severity of the process.

5. Community groups could also work in tandem with prosecutors. Because prosecutors are often overburdened, they may not have the time to address all of the needs of the victim. Further, they may not have all the information and expertise available to them that many community groups may have. Community organizations could act as powerful advocates for victims in the prosecution process.

Religious Groups

As indicated earlier, intolerant religious organizations can act as conduits of group-biased and racist beliefs. However, religious organizations of good will can be valuable in the transmission of positive values and understanding among groups. We advocate involving religious community groups in combating and preventing hate crimes. Religious organizations can be major players in reducing the prejudices and biases which are at the root of group hatred. We propose a number of possible intervention strategies which involve religious organizations:

1. Information concerning the number and geographical distributions of hate crimes should be made readily available to religious groups. Their awareness of the depth of the problem can go far in motivating them to actively combat the problem among their constituencies.

2. Churches and temples need to be encouraged to establish trust and understanding within their communities. Shared community service projects, choir exchanges, and minister and rabbi exchanges could go a long way toward creating understanding between people of different religions (Governor's Task Force, 1982).

3. A forum should be established in which religious leaders could discuss issues involving hate and prejudice with police and other members of the community. Open dialogue between all segments of a community can act to head off tensions and can alert leaders to areas where particular focus is needed. Religious leaders can then return to their own constituents and educate them to the problems and costs involved in prejudice.

4. Religious communities should be exposed to the realities of anti-gay violence, especially the extent of its occurrence in their communities. They should encourage their members to view anti-gay violence as immoral. Herek pointed this out when he wrote:

> Regardless of their official stance on homosexual behavior and relationships, clergy of all faiths should consider how their teachings might be interpreted to justify violence. Anti-gay violence clearly violates religious teaching. They should educate their followers to recognize anti-gay violence not only as illegal but also as unjust and immoral. (1992a, p.300)

Police Interventions

The role of the police in successfully grappling with hate crimes can not be overstated. Police response to hate crimes must be energetic and unequivocal. Without effective responses, police allow, if they do not sanction, the proliferation of hatred and violence. As the Anti-Defamation League report stated:

> ...the failure to recognize and effectively address this unique type of crime could cause an isolated incident to fester and explode into

> widespread community tension. This is especially true if the targeted group perceives that law enforcement officials are not taking the situation seriously or do not have their best interests at heart. Police therefore should be prepared not only to investigate the criminal acts, but also recognize and respond in a supportive manner to the trauma experienced by the victims, their families, and other individuals affected by these crimes. (1988, p.1)

In addition to the above recommendations, the following are strategies which would enable police to combat and prevent hate crimes as well as empower others to do the same.

1. Strategies for police department responses to hate crimes should involve both legal training and sensitivity training.

2. Officers should be kept up to date on hate crime legislation and procedures. Police should also be trained in the enforcement of these laws. As the Alameda Hate Crime Prevention Plan stated:

> Law enforcement personnel should be trained on the criminal sanctions for hate crimes, civil remedies and referral information on local and state agencies responsible for the enforcement of hate violence laws (e.g. Department of Fair Employment and Housing, Fair Employment and Housing Commission). (1991, p.6)

3. All police personnel should receive sensitivity training. This training should be intended to reduce police-community tensions. Training should give police officers a better understanding of the community they serve and enable them to effectively function without creating or contributing to police-community antagonisms.

Police sensitivity training should include group experiences, therapy groups, role playing, and role reversal approaches. Other, less interactive approaches may not have sufficient effect. As Wintersmith (1974) noted in his analysis of the role of the police in the black community:

> The more straightforward lecture, question-and-answer type attempts...have for the most part, been rejected by the officers. The police perceive these efforts as attempts to further subvert them

> in enforcing the law, and in no small measure they have had the counterproductive effect of reinforcing those occupational characteristics that foster poor police-community relations in the first place--solidarity, loyalty, and secrecy. (pp.74-75)

4. Officers who respond to hate crimes need to be trained to be sensitive to the individual victim's specific emotions and needs.

5. Police departments should not only disseminate information regarding the incidence of hate crimes, they should also disseminate information concerning victims' legal rights and possible legal remedies to hate crimes and violence. This legal information should be given to community organizations, schools, and churches. This information can empower communities to understand that such actions will not be tolerated by authorities and that there are definite steps that can be taken to combat these crimes. The California Attorney General called for updated reports on hate crime incidence to be periodically distributed among communities by police departments. As his report noted:

> In [many] communities, lack of public awareness contributes to an entrenched cycle of alienation and violence. Citizens ignore escalation tensions until they explode in hate violence. When the community is unprepared to respond to violence, victims conclude that local institutions tolerate or even support violence against them. Alienation results, and the threat of violence increases. (1986. p. 57)

6. Police should locate and establish strong links with community organizations. Such organizations can provide valuable assistance in combating hate crimes and supporting victims. As the 1992 report by the California Lieutenant Governor's Commission on the Prevention of Hate Violence Stated:

> Local governments should establish close ties of cooperation and information exchange with independent community organizations which address issues related to hate violence. Local authorities should identify the groups active in their area and work with these organizations to make the entire community aware of their presence and activities. Cooperative efforts are needed to overcome language

> and cultural barriers to reach immigrant populations. Public and private resources should be pooled to reach common goals for the community. (p. 18)

7. Although it may not be feasible for many smaller communities, we recommend that a Hate Crimes Unit be formed in police departments wherever possible. This would be highly advantageous because the officers within the division could establish trustworthy community links and keep abreast of new information concerning hate crime incidents and laws. Officers could effectively respond to the victims of hate crimes, regardless of their severity, showing victims that police care and thus preventing the festering of negative emotions. Such a unit could improve data collection regarding hate crimes and better track and anticipate hate violence (Lieutenant Governor's Report, 1992).

School interventions

Effective intervention programs must deal with the proliferation of negative stereotypes and prejudices throughout our society. School classrooms provide an excellent setting in which to confront this problem and prevent it from spreading. As a general approach, children should be introduced early on to the importance of tolerance and acceptance of diversity. The ability to place oneself in the position of another is critical in combatting prejudicial attitudes. Between the ages of 9 and 12, children begin to understand how their actions might effect another; their natural egocentricity diminishes significantly during this period and they develop the capability to understand points of view different from their own.

We propose a program led by community-sponsored instructors, who would be invited to come into classrooms as guest speakers to address the subject of hate crimes and the attitudes behind them. These speakers should be attractive, high-status older role models (such as popular athletes), who could establish good rapport with students. If guest speakers were of mixed ethnic origin and sexual orientation, they would model a spirit of openness, camaraderie, and empathic understanding for students' confusions and questions. This would be a minimal intervention program, which would be responsive to schools' strained resources of money and time. It would be economical in that there would be no hiring costs, no new text books needed, and teachers could be released for other duties during the presentations.

We feel that this approach would be effective also in the sense that students usually enjoy guest speakers, who can recharge the sometimes mundane atmosphere of the classroom. There is a sense of excitement and responsiveness that is created when a new speaker comes into a classroom that may not be present with their regular instructor. Informal discussions with faculty members have indicated that they do not feel able to present this type of material as effectively as a guest speaker, because teachers already feel overburdened with the amount of material which they already have to communicate (informal interview with a local public school teacher, 5/5/92).

This intervention strategy would be more intensively implemented at the middle school and high school levels; it would focus primarily on 7th graders, with booster sessions in the 8th and 9th grades. At these grade levels, the format of the intervention would be both instructional and experiential, and engage the students in more formal reasoning and moral discussions. For the first twenty minutes the instructor would outline and define what constitutes a hate crime and would discuss motivating factors. The instructor would go on to give local statistics and cite actual cases. If possible, the instructor would also show actual footage of hate crimes and their perpetrators. Visual aids would have great impact in helping students better understand the severity of these crimes.

Gabelko and Michaelis (1981) called this format the "informational approach" and suggested that it engages the students' cognitive capacities by providing information essential to a student's understanding of the issue. "The intent of using this strategy is to develop an accurate understanding of and adherence to such values as human dignity, justice, equality and an appreciation for cultural differences" (p.11). The informational approach can raise student awareness of misconceptions and stereotypes held within their communities. By itself, however, it is not be sufficient to alter deep-seated prejudices unless there is a strategic, concerted challenge to these ideas.

For this reason, the next step would consist of demonstrating to students the dangers of prejudice in very vivid and concrete ways. Gabelko and Michaelis (1981) argued that an "exhortation approach" can be an important step in getting people to rethink their position on hate crimes. Through this approach, students grapple with ideas or alternative viewpoints that they might not have previously considered. Individual attitude change, however, is more effective when it is reinforced by the peer group. Hence, during the last thirty minutes of class, instructors would divide students into small, ethnically diverse discussion groups, for what Gabelko and Michaelis called "intergroup contact." Students would be encouraged to share and discuss some of their own prejudices and misconceptions, and affirm their higher-order moral convictions regarding these issues. When students vocalize their views publicly they must think about the validity of their attitudes. Shiman (1979) maintained that group interaction challenges students to express their feelings and attitudes and to clarify their values. Further, group interaction gives students the opportunity to learn from each other and gain insights through self-discovery. Gabelko and Michaelis described this process as "the development of cognitive sophistication," by which "the individual grows in critical thinking skills, thereby learning to question and to seek out personal meaning and firsthand experience or investigation" (1981, p.12).

This program will not end hate crimes, but it will give students the opportunity to understand that hate crimes exist and to explore some of the destructive attitudes which mediate them. This program will encourage students to analyze their own values by exposing them to public criticism. The classroom offers a unique opportunity to reach students at a time in their lives when their values are forming. Our proposed strategy attempts to complement existing intervention strategies with a cost effective and engaging approach.

References

Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswick, E., Levinson, D.J., & Sanford, R.N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*. New York: Harper.

Alameda County Hate Violence Prevention Plan (1991). Board of Supervisors, Multicultural Multilingual Oversight Committee, Human Relations Commission.

Allport, G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (1988). *Hate crimes: Policies and procedures for law enforcement agencies*.

Attorney General's Final Report (1986, April). Commission on Racial, Ethnic, Religious and Minority Violence. California Department of Justice.

Attorney General's Final Report (1990, April). Commission on Racial, Ethnic, Religious and Minority Violence. California Department of Justice.

Berk, R.A., Boyd, E.Z. & Hamner, K.M. (1992). Thinking more clearly about hate-motivated crimes. In G.M. Herek & K.T. Berrill (Eds.), *Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Billig, N., & Tajfel, H. (1973). Social categorization and similarity in intergroup behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *3*, 27-52.

Bonacich, E. (1972). A theory of ethnic antagonism: The split labor market. *American Sociological Review*, *37*(October), 547-559.

Bonacich, E. (1973). A theory of middleman minorities. *American Sociological Review*, *38*(October), 583-594.

Campbell, D.T. (1967). Stereotypes and the perception of group differences. *American Psychologist*, *22*, 817-829.

Collins, M. (1992). The gay-bashers. In G.M. Herek & K.T. Berrill (Eds.), *Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Ehrlich, H.J. (1992). The ecology of anti-gay violence. In G.M. Herek & K.T. Berrill (Eds.), *Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Gabelko, N.H., & Michaelis, J.U. (1981). *Reducing adolescent prejudice: A handbook*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Governor's Task Force on Civil Rights (1982). *Report on racial, ethnic and religious violence in California*.

Hamner, K.M. (1992). Gay-bashing: A social identity analysis of violence. In G.M. Herek & K.T. Berrill (Eds.), *Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Hepworth, J.T., & West, S.G. (1988). Lynchings and the economy: A time-series reanalysis of Hovland and Sears (1940). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *55*, 239-247.

Herek, G.M. (1992a). The social context of hate crimes: Notes on cultural heterosexism. In G.M. Herek & K.T. Berrill (Eds.), *Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Herek, G.M. (1992b). Psychological heterosexism and anti-gay violence: The social psychology of bigotry and bashing. In G.M. Herek & K.T. Berrill (Eds.), *Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Hovland, C.I., & Sears, R.R. (1940). Minor studies in aggression: VI. Correlation of lynchings with economic indices. *Journal of Personality*, *9*, 301-310.

Kulik, J.A., & Brown. R. (1979). Frustration, attribution of blame, and aggression. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *15*, 183-194.

Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy (1992). *Final report to the California state commission on hate crimes*.

Lippa, R.A. (1990). *Introduction to social psychology*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Locksley, A., Ortiz, V., & Hepburn, C. (1980). Social categorization and discriminatory behavior: Extinguishing the minimal intergroup discrimination effect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *39*, 773-783.

Meindl, J.R., & Lerner, M.J. (1985). Exacerbation of extreme responses to an out-group. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *47*, 71-84.

Miller, N.E., & Bugelski, R. (1948). The influence of frustrations imposed by the in-group on attitude expressed toward out-group. *Journal of Psychology*, *25*, 437-442.

Oakes, P.J., & Turner, J.C. (1980). Social categorization and intergroup behavior: Does minimal intergroup discrimination make social identify more positive? *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *10*, 295-301.

Sherif, M. (1966). *Group conflict and cooperation: Their social psychology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Sherif, M. & Sherif, C.W. (1953). *Groups in harmony and tension: An integration of studies on intergroup relations*. New York: Octagon Books.

Sherif, M., Harvey, O.J., White, B.J., Hood, W.R., & Sherif, C.W. (1961). Intergroup conflict and cooperation: The Robbers Cave experiment. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Book Exchange.

Shiman, D.A. (1979). The prejudice book: Activities for the classroom. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Swarn, R. (1992). Hate crimes flourishing in Florida despite tough law; incidents up slightly. The Miami Herald, March 30.

Tajfel, H. (1978). Differentiation between social groups. New York: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981). Human groups and social categories. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. (1982). Social identity and intergroup relations. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., Billig, N.G., Bundy, R.P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behavior. European Journal of Social Psychology, 1, 149-178.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J.C. (1979). An integrative theory of social conflict. In W. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), The social psychology of intergroup relations. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

United States Commission on Civil Rights (1990, September). Intimidation and violence racial and religious bigotry in America.

Weissman, E. (1992). Kids who attack gays. In G.M. Herek & K.T. Berrill (Eds.), Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men. Newbury Park: Sage.

Wintersmith, R.F. (1974). Police and the black community. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Zimbardo, P.G. (1970). The human choice: Individuation, reason, and order versus deindividuation, impulse, and chaos. In W.J. Arnold & D.L. (Eds.), Nebraska symposium on motivation, 1969. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

DRAFT VERSION ONLY:

COMMENTS WELCOMED

Chapter 5

INTIMACY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE: DATE RAPE AND MARITAL RAPE

Howard Chow

Kasi Allen Fuller

Rebekah Saul

Susan Slater

Abstract

The last decade has led to an increasing awareness of date rape and marital rape as critical issues in American Society. This paper aims to presents much of what has been learned in essentially 15 years of acquaintance and marital rape research. We begin with a discussion of the definitional issues surrounding date rape and continue with a review of the literature pertaining to the incidence and prevalence of the problem. The paper includes a presentation of two high school-based date rape intervention projects: a teen theater program, and a plan for teaching women's self-defense, aimed at decreasing the likelihood of date rape among this highly vulnerable population.

While the theoretical explanations for date and marital rape are many, this paper tends to view the issues involved as an extension of the interpersonal difficulties and ambiguities often encountered between men and women in intimate relationships. We believe that date and marital rape stem from traditional stereotypes of male versus female social status and sex roles rather than from pathology. We present research evidence throughout the paper which supports this conclusion.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

> "To men, I want to say this: have you ever had sex with a woman when she didn't want it? Were you and are you really careful to find out? Is it enough that you say to yourself now, "I really don't know"? Are you really afraid that nothing will happen between you and a woman if you don't make it happen? Are you afraid of our rage today? That we will turn it against you? Is there perhaps a reason for your fear? I think you need to remember that we love you. And that as a result it's often very unclear to us why you are so urgent. It is unclear to us why you are so pressured in gaining sexual access to us."
>
> Catharine MacKinnon
> 1981 speech at Stanford University

Date Rape

The privacy and affinity that generally characterize a dating situation provide a setting in which, though it is rarely acknowledged, violence can and does occur between intimates. When this violence takes the form of "date rape," the effects on the victim are both devastating and longlasting. Indeed, invisible wounds often plague survivors for the rest of their lives. Despite its horrific effects, date rape remains an amorphous topic in the minds of the majority of Americans. Most people associate the word rapist with someone who is a stranger to the victim. In reality, the majority of rapes are perpetrated by acquaintances of the victims (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). Estimates of the percentage of rapes committed by a perpetrator known to the survivor range from 50% (Rabkin, 1979) to 88% (Russell, 1984). Often, these offenders are boyfriends and dating partners (Koss, Dinero, Seibel, & Cox, 1988; Russell, 1984).

Events such as the William Kennedy Smith trial have increased the public's awareness of this issue. In a recent documentary entitled "Men, Sex, and Rape" (ABC, May 5, 1992), television journalist Peter Jennings attempted to grapple with the societal norms and cliches that contribute to miscommunication in dating situations and that can lead, ultimately, to rape. He alluded to dating rituals in which men plan and pay for dates and then expect sex in return. One man in the audience complained that "girls play a game. There are lots of guys getting burned. Girls should pay for a good time." The common assumption he expressed is that men and women strike an unspoken bargain in their dating partnership. Under its conditions, date rape results from a woman's failure to comply with the terms of the deal.

Jennings also discussed the models for male-female relationships (from parents to television sitcoms) with which most Americans are raised and pointed out the extent to which we are taught to accept a considerable degree of male to female violence as part of the courting ritual or even of romance. When Jennings interviewed Dr. Barry Burkhardt, a sociologist from Auburn University, Burkhardt agreed that in American society, "sex and aggression are fused." He went on to say that many men become defensive when discussing issues such as date rape; they feel wrongfully accused because of their own definition of sex as power.

The results of a survey on sexual conduct in the dating situation produced for Time magazine in 1991 further indicate the role that social attitudes can play in date rape. In the survey, respondents were asked whether they would classify a group of selected statements as rape. The answers were coded according to the gender and age of the respondent. Four of the statements applicable to the discussion of date rape and the responses associated with them are given below:

			Both Sexes		
	Men	Women	18-34	35-49	50+
Consider it rape when ...					
A man has sex with a woman who has passed out after drinking too much.	77%	88%	85%	89%	74%
A man argues with a woman who does not want to have sex until she agrees to have sex.	33%	42%	39%	39%	35%
A man uses emotional pressure, but no physical force, to get a woman to have sex.	33%	39%	38%	46%	26%
A man and a woman get drunk and have sex.	5%	7%	7%	4%	6%

Responses to the question of what is considered acceptable sexual conduct varied by age and gender. In general, women were more likely than men to condemn the conduct described above but not always by a substantial amount. Further on in the survey, respondents were asked about conditions under which a woman could be considered partly to blame for being raped in a dating situation. Approximately 40% of the respondents believed that "if a woman is under the influence of drugs or alcohol," "if she dresses provocatively," or "if she initially says 'yes' to having sex and then changes her mind," she is at least partly to blame. A slightly smaller percentage (34%) placed blame on the woman if she agreed to go to the man's room or home ("What's OK on a Date?", 1992).

Date rape is a young research area. The majority of studies related to this issue have been conducted only within the past 15 years. The recent burgeoning of interest in this area is closely tied to ongoing social changes that can be traced to the sexual revolution and the women's movement beginning in the early 1970s. However, the hard questions about date rape, such as how we can prevent it and how we can support and protect its survivors, remain to be answered. The purpose of this discussion is to bring together the research pertaining to date rape: to discuss definitional issues, the incidence and prevalence of date rape, its effects on survivors, and the theoretical explanations for this phenomenon. The discussion concludes with recommendations for effective interventions.

Defining the Dating Relationship

The last two generations have experienced radical changes in America's dating rituals, particularly among high school and college students, who represent the age groups most vulnerable to being involved in a date rape situation. While evenings consisting of the traditional "dinner and a movie" still do occur, they are increasingly rare. At the high school level, students tend go out socially in small groups rather than in pairs, determined by someone in the group having access to a car. They do attend special "couple" dating events like proms. College students, as a rule, also engage in less formal "group" dating. However, couples in the college setting also live together with some degree of frequency. In both high school and college, parties often provide opportunities for people to meet and to date. Finally, among non-college groups and the post-college crowd alike, local pubs and clubs offer the setting for what many refer to as "the pick-up scene." To engage in a thorough discussion of date rape requires a flexible definition of dating, one that applies to all of the situations alluded to above. Sugarman and

Hotaling (1989) have developed such a definition, which will be used for the remainder of this paper. It defines dating as "a dyadic interaction that focuses on participation in mutually rewarding activities that may increase the likelihood for future interaction, emotional commitment, and/or sexual intimacy." These authors supplied three clarifications of their definition: (1) it excludes married/divorced couples; (2) it incorporates a range of relationships from first encounters to cohabitation; (3) it can apply to heterosexual and homosexual couples.

Defining Rape

A complete discussion of date rape requires not only a thorough understanding of what is meant by dating in our society, but also, and most importantly, how we define the term rape. A wide range of definitions of rape is used in American society, from explicit legal interpretations to more implicit community or cultural assumptions. From these, each individual derives his or her own personal definitions which take into account a number of experiential and situational factors.

With respect to legal definitions, the FBI continues to use a slightly modified version of the traditional common-law definition, which is "carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will" (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Carnal knowledge refers solely to vaginal penetration with the penis; all other sexual offenses are excluded. The flaws in this definition are readily apparent; it assumes that (1) there is only one kind of penetration and (2) victims can only be female. Further, the FBI definition also includes what they call "homosexual rape," in which there is an inherent assumption that men who rape men are homosexual, which is not always the case.[1]

Despite of the FBI definition, rape is not a federal crime. Rape statutes are enacted at the state level. Extensive reforms of these laws have occurred during the past decade. The purpose of such efforts is to place greater emphasis on the perpetrator's acts and to focus attention on the violent aspects of rape, as opposed to the sexual aspects. The following is representative of the reform definitions adopted in many states:

> Vaginal intercourse between male and female and anal intercourse, fellation, and cunnilingus between persons regardless of sex. Penetration, however, slight, is sufficient to complete vaginal or anal intercourse (Koss & Harvey, 1991).

The expansion of the rape definition to include oral and anal sodomy and penetration by fingers or objects other than the penis is the primary difference between such reform statutes and the FBI definition. The second difference is the inclusion of the act of taking improper advantage of an incapacitated victim (whether a result of mental retardation, drugs, or alcohol) as rape. A third difference, the alleviation of sexual stereotyping, has led to some confusion. Koss and Harvey related a story from one of Koss' lectures in which someone asked, "What about men raped by women?" The lecturer asked for an example and the person told a story about a man who had sex with a woman when he really did not want to because she threatened to say derogatory things about him. Koss took the position that this kind of situation was not rape. Rape is a penetration offense: the victim is penetrated by the offender, and not vice versa (Koss & Harvey, 1991).

---

[1] According to a number of studies conducted on college campuses, male victims comprise less than 10% of total rapes (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Most of male rapes were by other men, and the victims sustained more injuries than are typical for female victims. A lack of knowledge about their experiences and a shortage of support groups often hinders the treatment of male victims.

In this discussion, the word rape will refer to any non-consensual penetration, according to the reform definition of rape given above. Any resistance, an explicit "no," or the inability to refuse due to physical restraint, intoxication, or mental incapacities is adequate evidence of "nonconsent." Date rape will refer to any act of rape which occurs in the context of a dating situation as described above by Sugarman and Hotaling. We will limit ourselves primarily to a discussion of date rape perpetrated by males on females, because we believe that the bulk of the problem rests here. We have also chosen to separate date rape from the closely related issue of dating violence, except in cases where these two issues were not be separated within the context of a particular study to which we wished to refer. For example, a study of Asian American women cited below considered date rape as a form of dating violence.

Incidence and Prevalence of Date Rape

One of the problems in confronting the issue of date rape as a serious societal concern is the fact that official statistics conclude that rape by nonstrangers, and even rape in general, is not widespread. The Justice Department reported that there were an estimated 135,410 rape victimizations throughout the country in 1989. Of these, 89,570 cases involved strangers and only 45,830 cases involved acquaintances (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 1991). Of those incidents involving a person previously known to the victim, 14,400 were completed rapes and 31,430 were attempted rapes. These statistics comprise a victimization rate of about 2/1000 for nonstranger rape, and specifically, a 1/1000 chance of completed nonstranger rape (BJS, 1991). The Justice Department also reported that from 1973-1987, 47% of female nonstranger rape victims reported their assault to the police.

These figures, however, grossly underestimate the true prevalence of date rape because they are based solely on incidents which were reported to the police or other such agencies. There are government estimates which suggest that for every rape reported to the police, another 3 to 10 rapes go unreported (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1975, cited in Kanin, 1984). Recent studies have revealed that date rape is a much more widespread problem than had been previously thought. Because the annual National Crime Survey (NCS) focuses only on female survivors of rape, the present survey of the existing literature will focus only on female survivors of date rape as well.

Previous Research

In a recent study, Koss and associates administered a self-report survey of sexual experiences to a sample of 2,016 females and 1,846 males; they found that 13% of the women experienced sexual intercourse against their will as a result of actual force or threat of harm (Koss et al., 1988). Kilpatrick and colleagues conducted a victimization survey via telephone of 2,004 randomly selected women in South Carolina and found that 14.5% reported a sexual assault victimization and 9% reported an incident of attempted or completed rape (cited in Koss et al., 1988). A study by Russell revealed that 24% of 930 randomly selected women in San Francisco had experienced incidents of forced intercourse (cited in Koss et al., 1988). Aizerman and Kelley (1988), in a survey of college students, found that 22% of the sampled women were victims of acquaintance rape, and 51% of the women had successfully avoided attempted acquaintance rape at some point in their lives. In a 1984 study, Rapaport and Burkhart reported that more than 22% of the freshmen and sophomore women in their sample had been forced to have sex against their will (cited in Aizenman & Kelly, 1988). Miller and Marshall (1987) in a survey of two large universities found that 27% of the women had at some time experienced unwanted sexual intercourse. Of the then sexually active women surveyed, 40% had recently had unwanted sexual intercourse. Yet only 3% of the women characterized these incidents as rape. Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) surveyed 243 college women and found that 14.7% of them had been victims of date rape and 20.6% had had unwanted sexual intercourse. A study undertaken by the Stanford Rape Education Project (SREP, 1988) found that in a sample of 1,190 student respondents, 37% of the female graduate students and 29% of the undergraduate female students reported at least one incident of sexual coercion (unwanted sexual activity), and only 2% had reported the incident to the police. Of these incidents, 54.2% were by romantic acquaintances; another 22.5% of the assailants were casual dates.

The most extensive recent study of the incidence and prevalence of date rape was conducted by Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski (1987). They surveyed 3,187 randomly selected female college students. The trends they discovered are revealing. They found that 15.4% of the sample had been victims of date rape since the age of 14. Another 12.1% had been victims of attempted date rape. A further 11.9% had been victims of sexual coercion, which was defined as unwanted intercourse due to male pressure or abuse of a position of authority. Of the female victims, 42% told no one at all about the incident. Only 5%

reported the incident to the police, and only 5% of the victims went to a crisis center. Of the women whose experiences met the legal definition of rape, only 27% labelled themselves as rape victims; the others did not realize that they had been raped. Furthermore, 57% of the rapes occurred between dating couples in a continuing relationship.

Koss and colleagues (1987) used her data to compute an incidence rate which could be compared to the official rate reported by the Justice Department. In her surveys, she included questions concerning victimizations which had occurred in the last 12 months. Using these data, she calculated that there were 83 legally defined rapes per 1000 women during the previous 6 months. This number was reduced to 38/1000 when incidence was limited to the FBI definition of rape as forcible vaginal intercourse with a female without consent, by use of force or threat of force (Koss et al., 1987). Even this reduced rate is close to 20 times greater than the "official" incidence rate of date rape. If the expanded legal definition is used, the rate is greater than a forty fold increase between the actual rate and the reported rate.

One may question the validity of using college samples as the norm because of the selectivity of the sample. However, according to the 1980 census, this group represents 26% of all persons aged 18-24 in the United States (Koss et al., 1987). Belknap (1989) used National Crime Survey data to further characterize rape as the victimization of unmarried women by nonrelated acquaintances. She found that young women in general were more at risk. About 54% of victimizations occurred to women of traditional "dating age" (16-24); roughly 30% occurred to women 25 or older; and 16% of victimizations occurred to women under the age of 16 (Belknap, 1989). Thus, although the sample in most of the college studies is selective, they have targeted one of the groups most at risk and the group toward which preventative policies should be directed. However, Belknap's study does point out that all women, regardless of age, are potentially at risk for acquaintance or date rape.

The studies cited above all reveal an alarming trend which has gone unnoticed in the official statistics. Each of the studies suggests that, on average, one out of every five women is a victim of date rape or attempted date rape by the time she reaches college. The pressing question is why the government does not acknowledge that date rape is a social issue of epidemic proportions. The problem with the Justice Department's and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's approach is that their data are dependent on the use of victimization studies such as the annual National Crime Survey (NCS). In these victimization studies, the residents in a sampling area are asked how many crimes have occurred to them or to their immediate family in the last six months. The figures are then compared with official police statistics for the same period and an estimate of the prevalence of unreported crimes is calculated (Koss et al., 1987).

Problems with NCS Approach

There are a number of problems with the NCS approach. First and foremost, the nature of a crime such as rape does not lend itself to a victimization survey. Date rape, and rape in general, are crimes which only need to occur once to have long-term effects. The typical approach is to designate a woman as a rape survivor if, and only if, she has been attacked within the last six months. The NCS survey asks screening questions such as "Did someone try to attack you in some other way?" before asking questions specifically about rape victimizations. Such questions require the subject to infer the focus of the question before she can count herself as a rape victim in the official statistics (Koss et al., 1987). Further, the use of the term *rape* by the interviewer or questionnaire is often embedded in the context of a violent crime and is probably associated more with our society's view of stranger rape rather than date rape.

A second problem inherent in this type of questioning is the assumption that victimization will be recognized or acknowledged by the victim. There is an implicit assumption that the word *rape* will be used definitively by the survivors to conceptualize their experience (Koss et al., 1987). In other words, NCS uses a very strict definition of rape and requires the survivor to determine whether or not she has been raped. Because of the ambiguities involved in many sexual assaults, such techniques inevitably lead to underreporting. Some survivors may be ashamed and feel uncomfortable admitting in an interview that they have been raped by a date. Indeed, many women fail to conceptualize an unwanted physical encounter with an acquaintance as rape (Koss, 1985). In Koss et al. (1987), the largest study of its kind to date, investigators found that only 27% of the survivors recognized that what had happened to them was actually rape. The better known the rapist is to her, the more reluctant the survivor is to label the event as a victimization and herself as a victim. In order to protect her own ego, a survivor may use a cognitive defense mechanism such as denial that she has been a victim. She may view the entire episode as a misunderstanding or a breakdown in communication.

If the survivor knows the rapist, she may also feel partly, or even entirely, responsible for the assault.

> It [date rape] is the hardest for women to talk about, even to their closest friends, much less to the police. It's easier for a woman to believe that there's no way she could have brought it on herself when a strange man comes out of nowhere and attacks her. However, when the rapist is a friend or date, not only has her body been violated, but her trust in another human being betrayed, and her faith in her own judgement has been shaken.
>
> Ellen Doherty,
> Coordinator of the Rape Intervention Program
> St. Luke's-Roosevelt Hospital Center, New York
> (Barrett, 1982, cited in Miller & Marshall, 1987)

Compounding the confusion and turmoil within the survivor may be the belief that the police are not supportive or that they cannot do much to help. Only 5% of the survivors in the Koss study ever turned to the police and only 2% of the survivors in the Stanford study did so (Koss et al., 1987; SREP, 1988). There is also the belief that rape and sexual assault are private matters which should not be made public. The recent media attention given to rape trials, along with the legal system's notorious attacks on the reputations of victims, have made survivors increasingly reluctant to report rapes. Furthermore, the Battelle Law and Justice Study Committee (1977, cited in Kanin, 1984) estimated that less than 3% of reported rapes result in convictions. This low conviction rate points to the infrequency with which people, even the authorities, apply legal definitions to daily interpersonal relations and to the difficulty of clarifying what constitutes rape in such settings. Moreover, if survivors have no faith that the legal system is willing to punish rapists, they may refuse to report a rape in order to avoid the pain of public scrutiny.

Rape and the Legal System

The discrepancy between the findings of widespread research and official government statistics on the incidence of rape confirms that rape is enormously underreported. This failure to report means that very few rapists are prosecuted and convicted. Historically, rape, under the common law definition of "forcible carnal knowledge" was considered a heinous crime, the maximum punishment for which was often life imprisonment or even death. This harsh punishment, together with the ambiguity of the concept of "forcible carnal knowledge," led to a legal tradition vis-a-vis rape characterized by extreme caution against false accusations (Largen, 1988). That is, policies regarding the legal system and rape have traditionally focused on protecting accused rapists rather than protecting rape survivors. For example, whether a rape was forced or not was determined by the amount of resistance on the part of the survivor, rather than the amount of force exerted by the assailant. Furthermore, a woman's past sexual history and her previous contact with the assailant were used as relevant evidence in the courts. Additionally, corroboration that meets a rigid standard of evidence "beyond a reasonable doubt" has been required in rape cases.

The women's movement initiated widespread legal reform with respect to sexual assault cases in the seventies. The goals of the movement in general were to redirect the legal system to focus on the assailant's behavior, rather than on the survivor's state of mind. More specifically, they sought to change standards in proof to prevent complainant abuse, to encourage survivor reporting and cooperation with the legal system, and to instigate rightful prosecution of cases. Reformers also hoped to end cautionary jury instructions and end abusive use of evidence of the survivor's past conduct and reputation (Largen, 1988). Specific outcomes of the movement were various changes in definitions of rape, standards of resistance, standards of relevant evidence (i.e. the survivor's sexual history), and corroboration requirements. Reform success has varied state-to-state. While it represents some symbolic progress in the attempt to end the tacit acceptance of force in sexual encounters at the institutional level, there is continuing debate as to whether legal reform has been significant in reducing the incidence of rape. Reporting of rape has increased since the time of legal reform, although that may have been due to social rather than legal factors (Largen, 1988). Furthermore, the success of legal reform has not necessarily resulted in a change of attitudes among the general public or among professionals who work within the legal system (such as judges, defenders, district attorneys).

The legal process of reporting rape is long and difficult at a personal level. The critical first step in reporting may be for the survivor to go straight to the hospital after the rape so that physical evidence can be collected from her body (e.g. semen from her vagina). This means that, immediately after her ordeal, a woman must be able to identify the event as a sexual assault and take action. Most hospitals automatically notify police officials about the assault, so the survivor also has to begin making decisions about reporting and prosecuting. Once the legal process begins, the survivor is inevitably judged on her personal qualities and the judgements made about her become indirectly, but critically, relevant to the case. If the case is tried, the survivor has to relive her rape through several retellings of the event and her credibility is repeatedly tested. Furthermore, the attorneys may ask her excessively personal questions about her life and her past conduct While the case is going on and during intervals between stages of the trial, her alleged assailant is free, so the survivor may constantly feel that her safety is in further jeopardy. All in all, the long legal process can be a painful experience for the survivor and may contribute to her trauma (Mid-Peninsula Rape Crisis Center [MPRCC], 1985).

The legal process of prosecuting rape cases is also long and difficult at a systematic level. The first step in the process, once the survivor has decided to report, is for the District Attorney to decide if enough evidence exists for the case to proceed to court. The Mid-Peninsula Rape Crisis Center (MPRCC, 1985) has identified several factors that are considered to determine the convictability of a case. Factors include "believable victim, evidence of force, use of a weapon, overcoming the survivor's resistance, and rapist's intent to rape." If the case goes forward, the suspect is arraigned and makes his plea. If he pleads "not guilty," a preliminary hearing is held, at which time the judge decides if there is enough evidence to proceed. The legal process involves long intervals between various stages of the trial, and at each successive stage, various individuals determine if the case is worth trying or not. Most sexual assault cases are tried by a jury, and all the jurors must conclude that there is evidence "beyond a reasonable doubt" in order to convict the suspect (MPRCC, 1985). Ultimately, the process rests on the survivor's credibility and the amount of corroborative evidence available. In actuality, fewer that one in five reported rapes go to trial, and even fewer result in convictions (Grossman & Sutherland, 1982).

A look at the history of legal traditions regarding rape, and the current process for reporting and trying rape cases, may help explain why many women choose not to report rape to police authorities. Survivors of a date rape may find it particularly difficult to report, because they know their assailant and may feel reluctant to prosecute him. Furthermore, survivors of date rape may not have the support of friends and family that can benefit survivors of a stranger rape. Feldman-Summers and Ashworth (1981) found that normative expectations of support from friends and family were typically more important factors than perceived outcomes (what the survivor perceived the outcome of the case to be) in determining a survivor's intent to report a rape. Additionally, the history of the survivor's relationship with the assailant is still often considered relevant to the case by jurors, judges, and attorneys. This makes a date rape conviction even more difficult to achieve. All of these factors taken together, legal, personal and social, may deter a survivor from attempting to prosecute her assailant.

Community Attitudes Towards Date Rape

As the discussion above suggests, the existence of precise, even comprehensive, legal definitions of rape does not guarantee their application to the dating situation in all communities. Indeed, such definitions are frequently tossed aside in the case of date rape. Particular circumstances may blur the evidence, while both perpetrators and survivors alike tend to rely on culturally determined perceptions of rape, often related to images of rapists as weapon wielding strangers in dark alleys, not lovers or boyfriends.

One method of sociologically assessing community definitions is through the use of vignette evaluation. In this process, vignettes are coded according to such factors as location, degree of violence, and extent to which the victim and perpetrator know each other. Respondents are then asked a series of questions about sample episodes pertaining to their classification as rape, the degree of responsibility attributed to the perpetrator and to the survivor, along with some justification for these ratings. In keeping with results of the Time magazine survey cited earlier, studies from a variety of cultural traditions have concluded that a common component of most community definitions of date rape is the notion that women are at least partially responsible for their own victimization (Bourque, 1989).

In 1983, Goodchilds and colleagues conducted such a study in Los Angeles with a tri-ethnic sample of 432 volunteer high school students recruited through the Youth Employment Service of the California State Department of Employment (Goodchilds, Zellerman, Johnson, & Giarrusso, 1988). Equal numbers of black, white, and Hispanic males and females, between 14 and 18 years of age, were used for the project. The study used 32 vignettes: 27 portraying rape scenarios and 5 control vignettes. Each participant rated 9 of the rape vignettes and the 5 controls. Two examples of the rape vignettes are given below:

> Example #1: A guy and a girl who are dating are at a friend's party one evening, and decide to sit out in the yard. It is very dark and after awhile they start to kiss and hug. The guy slips his hand under the girlfriend's blouse, but she pulls away and tells him to cut it out. Her boyfriend tells her he wants to have sex with her, and when she refuses, he threatens to hurt her. Though the girl does not want to, they have sexual intercourse.

> Example #2: As part of her after school job a girl is working alone in a basement checking supplies. A guy she has not met but who works in the same place comes into the room where she is and they

> start talking. They find they have many interests in common and, after awhile, they hold hands and kiss. Then the guy grabs the girl and tries to slip his hand under her blouse. She struggles, but he holds her and tells her he wants to have sex with her. The girl refuses, but the guy hits her several times and forces her to the floor. Though the girl does not want to, they have sexual intercourse.

All of the vignettes ended with the phrase, "Though the girl does not want to, they have sexual intercourse." While the majority of participants rated the second scenario a rape, few considered the first vignette to indicate a rape (cf. Bourque, 1989).

Two major conclusions resulted from the Los Angeles study. First, among Southern California teens, males were much more likely to infer sexual meaning from any encounter involving the opposite sex: what she said, how she dressed, her reputation, etc. Although females in the study did not infer sexual meanings from males in the same way, they seemed aware of the extent to which they differed from their male peers in this respect (Goodchilds, et al., 1988). Second, for both males and females, the level of force and the nature of the relationship strongly affected their evaluations. Verbal force was not convincing enough evidence that a rape had occurred, and rapes were rarely perceived to occur between dating partners. Finally, the respondents consistently assigned some degree of responsibility to the female, even when she was attacked with considerable force by a stranger as in Example #2 above. The extent to which the respondents equated perceived responsibility with consent was beyond the scope of the study, but it remains an important question for much of the date rape research (see Bourque, 1989).

Differences Between the Perceptions of Men and Women

Muehlenhard (1988) also used vignettes to better assess the kinds of misinterpretations that can occur between men and women in a dating situation and that can ultimately lead to rape. According to Muehlenhard, men are more likely to think that a woman wants sex if she asks a man out, but men are also likely to think that women want sex when the man plans and pays for the date. This conflict places women in a highly precarious position. Abbey (1982, cited in Lottes, 1988) found that men are likely to interpret women's friendliness as seductiveness. An invitation to cuddle on the part of a woman is considered a "come on" by many men, and being "led on" is often used as a justification for forcible sex or rape.

The portrayal of two accounts of the same encounter used in a brochure recently produced by the American College Health Association (entitled "Acquaintance Rape: Is Dating Dangerous?") demonstrates how misinterpreted signals and ineffective communication can contribute to contrasting rape definitions by men and women. The encounter occurs between Ann and Jim, two college students who meet at a party. Ann is attracted to Jim's good looks, but concerned about being too forward. She is happy when Jim comes over to introduce himself. They talk, finding a lot of things in common. When Jim asks Ann to come over to his place for a drink, she agrees. She hopes he will ask her out again. Meanwhile, Jim describes Ann as "looking hot and wearing a sexy dress." He notices that Ann touched his arm while they were talking. When she agrees to go back to his place, Jim "knew he was going to be lucky." In the apartment, the only place to sit is the bed. They talk for awhile and then, according to Ann, Jim makes his move -- he begins by kissing Ann with increasing force, then holding her down in spite of her struggles and pleading, and eventually rapes her. When Ann began to twist and turn, Jim reassured himself that "most girls don't like to appear too easy so I knew she was just going through the motions." When she stopped struggling, he recalls, "I knew she would have to throw in some tears before we did it." But afterwards Ann is still very upset and baffled that Jim can not understand why. Jim is also confused. He muses, "You could tell by the way she dressed and acted that she was no virgin, so why she had to put up such a big struggle I don't know..." Unfortunately, Ann and Jim's experience is much more typical than most people would like to acknowledge. This hypothetical encounter explicitly and powerfully demonstrates how very differently women and men can perceive sexual interaction in the dating context.

Situational Risk Factors

The story of Ann and Jim, combined with the studies cited above, suggests the importance of situational risk factors in the dating relationship. Studies show that miscommunication between the victim and assailant about sex, alcohol, and drug use, the dating activity and location, and attitudes about life in general can all contribute to the likelihood of date rape (Lundberg-Love & Geffner, 1989; Muehlenhard, 1988; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). These risk factors often create a sense of ambiguity between the dating partners that makes it difficult for both the survivor and the offender to label a particular situation as rape.

For example, Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) reported that men who initiate the date, pay all the expenses, and drive the car are more likely to be sexually aggressive than men who do not do all of these things. They suggest that this aggressiveness arises from the power differential between the man and the woman created by conditions that place the man in a position which makes it easy for him to plan activities conducive to sexual aggression, such as driving to a secluded spot or back to his apartment. Interestingly, when the woman initiates the date, she is judged by both sexes to be interested in having sex (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). In other words, the woman is stuck in a catch-22: If she is passive and allows the man to dictate the action, she is left powerless. If she is the initiator of their time together, she is perceived as inviting sexual advances.

Studies confirm the expectation that financing an evening's entertainment is often considered a fair exchange for sex in our culture (Lundberg-Love & Geffner, 1989; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987) A man may feel cheated if he pays all the dating expenses and the woman reneges on what he believes is the implicit bargain between them. Giarrusso and associates (1979, cited in Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987) found that 12% of high school girls and 39% of high school boys believed that it is acceptable for a boy to force sex on a girl if he spends a lot of money on her. College students have also indicated their belief that if a woman permits a man to pay all the dating expenses instead of "going Dutch," it is more likely that she wants to have sex and it is therefore more justifiable to have sex with her against her will (Muehlenhard, 1988).

In any case, the woman is in an unenviable position. As Korman and Leslie found, women who share dating expenses may also be susceptible to sexual aggression. These authors described a progression of factors to support this conclusion. First, it may be that a woman starts sharing expenses after experiencing sexual exploitation on occasions when she did not split the cost of the date. Second, the man may feel that his masculinity has been threatened by the woman's sharing the expenses. To regain his sense of dominance, he may force her to have sex with him. Finally, the traditional male may rationalize that the nontraditional woman who is willing to pay her share on a date is also more loose than the traditional female, and thus she may want sex more (Korman & Leslie, 1982, cited in Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987).

Another source of ambiguity is miscommunication and misinterpretation. A number of studies have found that men tend to interpret behavior more sexually than women do (Lundberg-Love & Geffner, 1989; Muehlenhard, 1988; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). They may not be able to determine from her cues just how far a woman really wants to go. This can often lead to the problem of the man feeling "teased" or "led on." If a man does feel led on, he may misinterpret the woman's protests as being merely the token or symbolic resistance that a "nice girl" should offer. The Stanford study (SREP, 1988) found that both sexes misinterpreted the other's "no." Both men and women stated that they meant it when they said "no," but that when it came from a member of the opposite sex it was not really conclusive. In other words, Our "no" means No; Their "no" means Maybe. This double standard may be one of the roadblocks to full understanding about sexual expectations and wishes that stands between the two genders.

A critical risk factor in sexual behavior is alcohol or drug use. There are clear indications that alcohol may be involved in as many as two thirds of all rape cases (alcohol use by either or both assailant and victim) (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Alcohol acts in a number of ways. It can lower the woman's resistance or ability to resist; it may also reduce the man's inhibitions against violence. Furthermore, when a rapist is intoxicated, college students, incarcerated rapists, and criminal statutes all regard him as being less responsible for what he does (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Yet the intoxicated woman is often considered to be responsible for whatever happens to her--having been foolish enough to get drunk. Among high school students, Giarrusso found that 18% of girls and 39% of boys said it was "OK" for a boy to force sex upon a girl is she is stoned or drunk (Giarrusso, 1979, cited in Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987).

Still another risk factor is the location of the date and the dating activity. How willing a woman is to go to a certain place may be interpreted by the man as a reflection of how interested she is in having sex. For example, subjects have rated going to the man's house or apartment when nobody else is there as an indication of the woman's desire to have sex (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Muehlenhard (1988) conducted a study which showed that men rated date rape as more justifiable if the couple goes to the man's apartment as opposed to going to a movie or attending a religious function. Paralleling this trend is the man's belief in the woman's desire to have sex: a woman who goes with a man to his apartment is believed to want sex more than a woman who goes with a man to a religious function. A similar study has shown that sexual aggression is most highly associated with "parking" activity (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Thus the greater the sexual connotations of the activity, the more likely the man will assume the woman's desire to have sex. The additional factor of privacy or seclusion seems to increase sexual aggression. This may be due to the man's feeling of increased power or control in the situation: the woman has nowhere to run.

The final risk factor to be aware of is the sex-role attitudes of the survivor and assailant. It has been documented that men who adhere to traditional attitudes, who have adversarial attitudes toward women, who accept rape myths and violence against women as "correct," all tend to exhibit greater tolerance of rape, to blame the rape survivor more, and to report a greater likelihood of raping someone if they knew they would not get caught (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Traditional attitudes about gender roles and sex or dating scripts may lead a man to be more likely to commit rape and a woman to become a victim of acquaintance rape. Tradition-oriented people are more likely to believe that "leading a man on" justifies force. Russell suggested that the qualities ascribed to the traditional woman--kindness, compassion, patience, acceptance, and dependence--are the very qualities that place a woman at risk for rape. She may be even more susceptible to date rape because she may have a harder time realizing that she has been raped.

What all of these risk factors tend to do is create an ambiguous situation for both the assailant and the survivor. As was stated earlier, only a small percentage of women realize or acknowledge when they have been raped and an even smaller minority of men recognize it as such when they have raped their date. Situational factors muddy the picture concerning who was at fault. Victims might feel more at fault because they know the assailant. It is much easier to recognize a rape when it is done by a stranger. In American society, we consider dating and sex very private matters which occur between consenting adults. We tend to assign adults responsibility for their actions even if they are not truly accountable. Thus, it is understandable that most date rape survivors do not report being raped.

Multicultural Differences

Distinguishing differences in the experience of date rape along racial lines is difficult due to the sparse and sporadic research in this area. Even in Koss's research, where classes selected for participation were required to have a minority representation which was higher than the university average, the actual sample sizes for minority groups remained quite small. Nonetheless, Koss and her colleagues (1982, 1985, 1987) did report differences among college students by ethnicity. Instances of rape were reported by 16% of white women, 10% of black women, 12% of Hispanic women, 7% of Asian women, and 40% of Native American women. Other racial differences we can point to consist of tidbits gleaned from a collection of studies. As a rule, studies indicate many more interracial similarities than differences regarding date rape. Nonetheless, this area of cultural and ethnic factors is urgently in need of further investigation.

The results of the Los Angeles Adolescent Study (Goodchilds et al., 1988) indicated that black males were more likely than other males to interpret female actors' characteristics and behavior in the vignettes as a desire for sex. Hispanic females, as a group, differed the most in their interpretations from the males'. They were the least sexually experienced of all the students and the least likely of all gender and ethnic groups to associate sexual meaning with personal qualities and actions. One could argue that this also makes them the most vulnerable in a potential date rape situation. The National Crime Survey data from 1973 to 1982 has shown that, when faced with such a threat, whites (89.2%) are more likely to resist rape than are blacks (71.3%).

Ethnicity has also been found to be associated with rape trauma. Yoshihama, Parekh, and Boyington (1989) found that culture has a strong influence on the vulnerability of Asian/Pacific teenagers and their perceptions of sexual violence in the dating situation. In these communities, women are traditionally taught to value obedience, submission, and premarital virginity. Dating is neither discussed, nor encouraged; indeed much dating goes on secretly. This element of secrecy can contribute to the survivor feeling more responsible for the violence. In addition, immigrant status and fear of humiliating one's family hinder these young women from reporting incidents of dating violence and date rape.

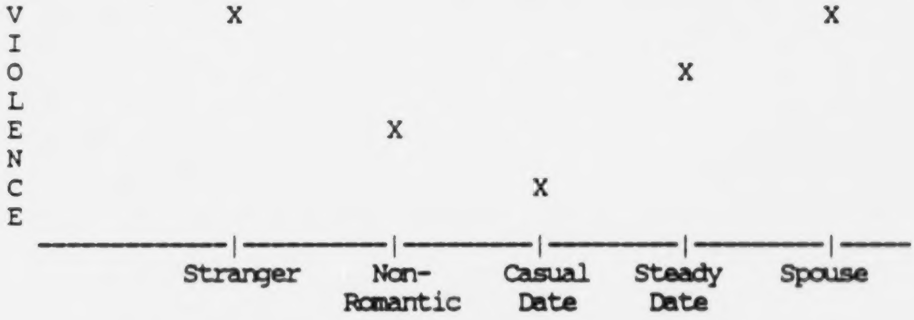
Differences Between Acquaintance and Stranger Rape

As stated earlier, a sudden attack by a stranger is the mental image that many people use in thinking about rape in general terms. For this reason, having a clear understanding of the similarities and differences between acquaintance rape and stranger rape is critical to our discussion. We will consider two areas of research here: perceptions of date rape and stranger rape, and experiences of date rape and stranger rape.

Bridges (1991) conducted a study using scenarios in which 95 college students assessed differences in sex-role expectations and rape-supportive beliefs between date and stranger rape. Bridges found that both females and males tended more to incorporate their sex-role expectations into their perceptions of date rape than they did with regard to stranger rape. That is, participants perceived greater victim failure to control the situation in date rape than in stranger rape, and attributed greater responsibility to the victim for misunderstanding with regards to first date than to stranger rape.

Bridges' results indicated that minimization of the negative aspects of rape were greatest when the perpetrator was a steady dating partner and least when he was a stranger. In another study conducted by Bridges and her colleague (Bridges & McGrail, 1989), the researchers again found that participants attributed far greater victim responsibility in a date rape than in stranger rape.

Koss et al. (1988) conducted a study using 498 rape survivors located among a national sample of 3187 college students, who had participated in a self-report survey. Koss wanted to discern differences in people's experiences of stranger and acquaintance rape. She used five categories for classifying the victim-offender relationship: Stranger, Non-Romantic, Casual Date, Steady Date, and Spouse. According to Koss' findings, in comparison with stranger rape, rapes by acquaintances (including dates) generally involved a single offender and multiple episodes. Victims rated these rapes as less violent.



However, when Koss and her colleagues pushed on this issue, they found that as the level of intimacy increased between the victim and the perpetrator so did the level of the violence. The figure above demonstrates the relative levels of violence for each of the five levels of intimacy used in the Koss study. Koss' findings point to the importance of using rape categories that go beyond simple "stranger" vs. "acquaintance" distinctions. Note that the participants in the Koss study reported spousal and stranger rape as equally violent. In addition, victims raped by a date were less likely to yell and run away than those assaulted by a stranger. Victims of date rape were also less likely to view the assault as a rape, than stranger rape victims. Date rape survivors were also less likely to tell anyone, even a friend, about their experience (44% of the time, compared to 73% of the time in cases of stranger rape).

The Effects of Date Rape

The aftermath of rape as experienced by self-identified survivors is the aspect of rape that has been studied the most thoroughly. Whereas initial studies consisted largely of anecdotal case histories, research of the last decade has utilized control groups of non-victims (Myers, Templer, & Brown, 1984) and findings have been grounded in a more broadly defined victimization literature (Sales, Baum, & Shore, 1984, cited in Koss & Harvey, 1991). This body of rape survivor research has aimed to determine the extent to which rape leads to temporary or extended trauma, to identify factors that weaken or intensify negative post-rape experiences, to ascertain methods of resisting without injury, and to differentiate between those women who report rape and those who do not (Bourque, 1989). More recent studies have attempted to differentiate between the experiences of stranger and date rape survivors.

Recent studies have documented a specific stress response pattern in survivors following forced, nonconsensual sexual activity. This response is called _rape trauma syndrome_ and involves an acute phase and a long-term reorganization process (Burgess, 1985, cited in Neff, 1988). Burgess identified three predictable and sequential phases that survivors go through in response to traumatic rape. During Phase I, which occurs shortly after the rape, the woman may experience a wide range of emotions. Two emotional styles have been identified: the expressed style in which feelings of fear, anger, and anxiety are shown through crying, sobbing, restlessness, tenseness, or even smiling; and the controlled style in which feelings are masked under a facade of composure. Phase II, which is often referred to as the denial stage, is characterized by the survivor effecting change of some kind, either in appearance, location, or any similar aspect of her life in order to reduce stress and increase her sense of security. The survivor may repress aspects of the rape in an attempt to deny or rationalize the incident. This phase can last from several weeks to years. Finally, Phase III is reached as a result of the survivor's desire to deal with coping difficulties such as flashbacks or nightmares. Guilt and anger are the dominant themes during this resolution phase as the survivor attempts to come to terms with what has caused her suffering.

The rape trauma syndrome is thought to be the generalized response to any sort of rape trauma, whether it be stranger rape or date rape. Warshaw (1988) presented a similar profile of the rape survivor's response that she specifically applied to date rape. The first survivor reaction is denial. The woman cannot believe that the rape is happening even as the situation worsens. The source of this denial lies simply in the fact that she knows her attacker. It is difficult for her to identify this situation as a rape. Furthermore, denial works as a means of protecting the survivor against the pain of what she is experiencing. The second phase involves a sense of dissociation during which the woman may feel physically and mentally removed from what is happening. This too is a protective mechanism which removes the survivor from the immediacy of the suffering. The third phase involves self-blame. The survivor feels betrayed by her own judgement because a man that she knew and was even attracted to violated her trust. The feelings of self-blame may begin as soon as the woman realizes that she cannot make the man stop. Immediately she begins to question her actions and her judgement. Self-blame often leads women to try to block the memory of the attack. They often fail to report the incident to the police or even to their own friends because they fear that others will blame them, just as they blame themselves. Self-blame may be especially present in situations in which alcohol or drugs are involved because the survivor may blame herself for drinking too much or losing her senses. Another survivor reaction is self-anger for not fighting back harder against the attacker. This occurs after the attack and is a retrospective look at what the victim "should have done." The woman often replays the incident in her mind, trying to imagine a different ending. What these women fail to consider is that in our culture women are often socialized to be passive in relationships. Furthermore, the failure to fight back may have been due to justifiable fear of physical injury.

There has been much debate as to whether the effects of stranger and acquaintance rapes differ or not. It seems that rape survivors in general experience some common effects. Myers et al., (1984) reported evidence that rape survivors have lower coping skills, lower self-acceptance, lower self-esteem, and a sense of loss of control over their own lives. Kilpatrick and associates (1985, cited in Koss & Harvey, 1991) found higher retrospectively reported rates of nervous breakdown, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts among survivors of attempted and completed rapes. As a rule, such disorders were most pronounced among survivors of completed rape. Koss et al. (1988) found no significant differences between the effects of stranger versus date rape with regard to psychological symptoms such as depression, anxiety, relationship satisfaction, and sexual satisfaction. Koss (1991) again found the effects of date rape and stranger rape remarkably similar with respect to post-rape depression, anxiety, and sexual satisfaction.

However, because of the different situations surrounding stranger versus date rape, it is probable that the effects of these two types of rape on their survivors do vary to some degree. Koss et al. (1988), in their study of differences in the experiences of survivors, found that rapes by acquaintances were less likely to be recognized as rape or to be revealed to anyone. They also were rated as less violent than stranger rapes. Katz and Burt (cited in Warshaw, 1988) stated that acquaintance rape survivors rate themselves as less recovered than do stranger rape survivors, for a period up to three years following the attack. This finding contradicts the Koss et al. (1988) study, which found no significant psychological differences in the two types of survivors. Koss (1991) concluded that survivors of date rape, particularly by steady dates, felt more responsible for the attack and exhibited a greater degree of guilt for not resisting more, for "giving in." The level of anger that the survivor felt also increased with the level of intimacy of the relationship.

One of the biggest differences between stranger and date rape is that fact that the survivor does know the assailant. A stranger rape survivor can often hold on to a sense of comfort, protection, and support provided by people she knows, her friends and family. Unfortunately, for a date rape survivor, this zone of protection is missing. Fewer people may provide her with sympathy because of the tendency to blame the survivor and, because her faith in her judgement has been shattered, she no longer knows whom she can trust or to whom she can turn. Her fear may become debilitating, as she becomes distrustful of even close friends and paranoid about the motives of all strangers. The survivor's personal external worlds are now seen as threatening. Nothing is safe anymore and nobody can be trusted. Without positive support, the survivor may be mired in feelings of worthlessness or helplessness.

One of the most long-lasting effects that date rape can have on a survivor is the creation of sexual dysfunction. The fears of most survivors after date rape focus on men and sex (Warshaw, 1988). Both of these topics may now evoke a sense of dread, anger, or disgust rather than pleasure or joy. The loss of trust in men who are close to them may be especially difficult. These survivors often suffer from sex-related problems such as the inability to relax, diminished arousal, sexual dissatisfaction, or sexual discomfort. Many date rape survivors may question whether or not they will ever be in a loving relationship with a man again after what has occurred to them.

In short, researchers have found that the differences in psychological and sexual symptoms of stranger and acquaintance rape survivors do not vary significantly. However, investigators point out that this may be because measurements were of general levels of symptoms which could not trace the source of the emotional pain (Koss et al., 1988). From this conclusion it appears that rape may be such a traumatic event in the life of a woman that the differences between stranger and date rape are not significant enough to register differences in her level of emotional pain. However, it also appears that the types of pain and suffering that each type of survivor experiences may vary, and that stranger rape survivors and acquaintance rape survivors wrestle with different issues throughout their healing process. Specifically, acquaintance rape survivors may have a harder time regaining a sense of security and comfort in the world and trust in those around them. They may feel more confusion about and responsibility for the rape, and they may have less support in recovering from their trauma.

A disturbing trend following rape is that 42% of women in the Koss study said that they had had sex again with the men who assaulted them (Koss et al., 1987). How does something like this happen? One possible explanation is that because of the ambiguity and the confusion surrounding the event, the survivor cannot label what happened to her as rape. She may feel that the incident was primarily her fault and, therefore, her attacker deserves another chance. Another possible explanation is that the survivor feels that having sex with her attacker again will justify the rape as normal sexual contact in an ongoing relationship. She attempts to rationalize the rape as being part of an intimate relationship. Even if the survivor is not raped again, however, one single incident can be enough to scar her emotionally for years to come.

Theoretical Approaches to Understanding Date Rape

Why do men rape women they are dating, women who are their friends, women whom they profess to love? Many scientists have set out to find the answer to why men rape. The first theoretical work done on rape motivation focused on a psychopathological approach. The psychopathological theories hinge on the assumption that rape is committed by a few deviant men and attribute rape motivation to the severe psychological maladjustment of these men. However, though researchers found a few common personality characteristics in rapists, they failed to find sexual aggressors as a group to be significantly more pathological, neurotic, or psychotic than non-sexually aggressive men (Abel, Necker, & Skinner, 1980, and Koss & Leonard, 1984, cited in Lottes, 1988). As the prevalence of rape, particularly rape by an acquaintance, became more widely recognized, it became even harder to characterize assailants as psychopaths; on the contrary, many rapists seemed quite "normal." Theorists then searched for a physiological explanation for rape, trying to attribute it to male physiological makeup or some innate level of human nature (Levine, 1959, and Symons, 1979, cited in Lottes, 1988). However, evidence for this approach lacked any real substance and was actually quite ambivalent (Lottes, 1988).

Sociocultural Theories

Although the possibilities that psychological or physiological factors may contribute to rape have not been completely abandoned, many researchers now agree that sociological factors play a significant role (Lottes, 1988). Many socio-cultural theories about rape have recently emerged. Some of the most significant support for sociological explanations of rape comes from Sanday's (1981) study of African tribal societies. Of the 95 societies she studied, Sanday found almost half to be rape-free. Thirty-five percent were placed in an intermediate category, and eighteen percent were considered "rape prone." She found many common societal factors in communities where rape was prevalent.

Upon finishing her research, Sanday concluded that "violence is socially, not biologically programmed" (Sanday, 1981, p. 25).

The Concept of Legitimate Violence

One area of sociocultural theory is founded on the concept of legitimate violence, which is the recognition that violence exists as a cultural norm; it is a widely accepted means for resolving conflict and maintaining order. Advocates of legitimate violence theories assert that violent aspects of the culture are implicated in rape (Baron & Straus, 1989; Reiss, 1981; Sanday, 1981; Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1983). Sanday summed up their position when she stated, "Rape is not an integral part of male nature, but the means by which men programmed for violence express their sexual selves" (1981, pp. 25-26).

Legitimate violence theories have been problematic in the past because many studies merely explored the high incidence of various violent crimes, and inferred from them an acceptance of violence as a cultural norm. This line of thinking promotes a sort of circular reasoning. Baron and Straus (1989) pointed out that a correlation of various levels of violence does not necessarily reflect condonation of violence. They warned, "The controversy over the cultural theories of violence can not be resolved without data which directly reflect shared beliefs, values, and norms, that is, data on the relevant aspects of culture itself" (1989, p. 148).

More recent legitimate violence studies have shown evidence that the acceptance of violence at institutional levels may affect interpersonal violence. In her study, Sanday (1981) found support for a relation between levels of nonsexual violence (such as warfare) and rape. Lottes (1984, cited in Lottes, 1988) found that high rates of rape occurred in societies where torturing and killing enemies were common. Other researchers have not specifically investigated nonsexual violence and rape, but have studied other associations of violence. Lambert, Triandis, & Wolf, 1959, cited in Baron & Straus, 1989) found that physical punishment in child raising was particularly common in societies where religious deities are punitive. Studies of modern nations show that cultural support for killing in war goes along with high murder rates (Archer & Gartner, 1984, and Jensen & Baxter, 1985, cited in Baron & Straus, 1989); child abuse rates (Shewd & Straus, 1979, cited in Baron & Straus, 1989) and even in the high incidence of violence in fiction (Huggins & Straus, 1980, cited in Baron & Straus, 1989). One experiment, in particular, documented the short-term increase in the incidence of murders following widely-watched heavyweight boxing matches, supporting the idea that violence in the media may affect violent behavior (Philips, 1983, cited in Baron & Straus, 1989). Such studies may more effectively provide evidence that a general societal acceptance of violence (as shown by its presence at institutional levels) may condone violence at all levels of personal interaction, including sexual relations.

Baron and Straus (1989) called the extrapolation from condonation of violence at institutional (rather than merely attitudinal) levels to interpersonal levels the "cultural spillover of criminal violence." They attempted to find evidence correlating an institutionalized acceptance of violence and the incidence of rape by conducting a state-by-state experiment on the spillover theory. They sought to measure cultural approval of non-criminal violence (i.e., violent sports, media violence, and governmental use of violence) against the incidence of rape. They found some small but insignificant support of the theory. Their research was important in that it specifically attempted to independently measure cultural approval of violence and its relation to rape.

More such research is needed in order to further our understanding of legitimate violence in society and its relation to rape. In this day, it may be particularly important to direct our attention towards understanding the impact of institutions that are a part of our daily lives, such as language, the media (including pornography), sports, toys, music, and even video games, on the perpetuation of violence towards women.

Society, Gender, and Rape

Other sociologists who have taken a sociocultural stance on rape point to societal gender roles and relations as significant factors in rape (Lottes, 1988). Several different perspectives can be taken on a gender approach to understanding rape.

Sex-Role Socialization

One sex-role theory has to do with the personality traits men and women acquire through socialization. Women in our society are often characterized as being passive, dependent, insecure, submissive, accepting, and oriented toward pleasing others. Traditionally they have not been expected to enjoy sex, openly express their sexuality, initiate sexual activity, or acquiesce in sexual activity without some resistance, outside the context of a legal relationship. Men, on the other hand, are brought up to value aggressiveness, superiority, competitiveness, strength, force, and dominance. They are expected to initiate sexual activity and enjoy multiple sexual partners (Russell, 1975).

One way to look at rape as the outcome of sex-role socialization is simply to see that the opposing personality traits of men and women, together with the divergent attitudes and expectations they are taught regarding sex, can easily result in male sexual aggression toward women. Russell stated that "rape is the logical consequence of the lack of symmetry in the way males and females are socialized in this society" (1975, p.201). Burt supported this view, saying that "rape is the logical and psychological extension of a dominant-submissive, competitive, sex role stereotyped culture" (1980, p.275).

Other researchers have pointed out that divergent sex roles result in divergent expectations and interpretations about male-female interactions. For example, Giarrusso et al. (1979, cited in Lottes, 1988) found that males have a greater tendency to see in such factors as what a woman wears or what activity she chooses for a date implications about her sexual desires. Men are more likely to interpret congeniality on the part of the woman as having a sexual meaning (Abbey, 1982, cited in Lottes, 1988). Men and women also often have different motives for sexual activity—men more often engage in sex for "pleasure, fun, and physical reasons," whereas women's motives for sex more often involve romantic love and commitment. Several researchers have revealed that despite sexually progressive movements in the United States, men and women still hold many traditional gender-determined ideas about what should happen in dating relationships (Abel, Becker, & Skinner, 1980; Kanin & Parcell, 1977; Laplante, McCormick, & Brannigan, 1980; McCormick, 1979; all cited in Lottes, 1988). They found that, in general, men are still considered the sexual aggressors and conquerors, and women the passive recipients. These researchers point out that sex roles in dating do not appear to be significantly converging, and that societal reinforcement of these roles can help explain the persistence of rape in dating relationships.

Machismo and Compulsive Masculinity

Some researchers particularly attribute rape to an overly masculine or "macho" sex role, which emphasizes toughness, aggression, violence, and a demeaning view of women. Mosher and Anderson (1984, cited in Lottes, 1988) studied 175 college males and found that macho attitudes, including "callused sex attitudes toward women, a conception of violence as manly, and a view of danger as exciting," strongly correlated with self-reported incidents of sexual aggression. Sanday (1981) additionally found that in rape-prone societies, macho characteristics (aggression and toughness) were highly valued in men. Mahoney, Shivley and Traw (1986, cited in Lottes, 1988) similarly found that the macho personality was the best predictor of sexually aggressive behavior. Reiss (1986) found that approval of the macho personality was a characteristic in rape-prone societies.

The compulsive masculinity theory asserts that men who are unsure of their gender identity may exaggerate the macho role as a way of establishing their manliness. The macho role, then, is a way of overcompensating for an insecure sense of masculinity (Parsons, 1947, cited in Burke, Stets, & Pirog-Good, 1988). In keeping with the compulsive masculinity theory, a man might seek to prove his manliness by forcing sexual activity, thereby acquiring the sense of increased status that goes along with being a sexually active male. The logic behind the theory is that to be rejected or denied sex is to be devalued as a man, and to gain sex is to win, to conquer, and therefore, to succeed as a man.

Some indirect support for this theory may be found in the studies listed above that associate machismo and sexual aggression. However, compulsive masculinity theory may be popular simply because it seems to make logical sense, whereas, there is little, if any, empirical evidence to support it (Rosenbaum, 1986, cited in Burke et al., 1988). In fact, the most extensive study that is currently available regarding compulsive masculinity refutes the theory: In 1988, Burke and associates published their study on gender identity and sexual abuse in dating relationships. They found that sexually abusive behavior was more frequently exhibited by males with a more feminine-gender identity than by males with a more masculine-gender identity. Their conclusions came from a study of 207 college males in which the researchers compared self-reported gender identity (through identification with a number of gender-related characteristics) with self-reported sexual aggression. The findings of this study along with the limited evidence available to support the compulsive masculinity theory pose serious questions as to its validity and suggest a need for further investigation into gender identity and sexual aggression.

Gender Inequality

Another approach to the gender theory is based on the idea that where gender inequality exists, rape exists. It states that rape is an implication not particularly of divergent gender roles but of the inferior position of women (at various societal levels), and a general anti-female sentiment in the culture. Indirect support comes from a variety of studies. Sanday (1981)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

found that in rape-prone societies, females had little power and authority, and that men showed disdain toward women decision-makers. Reiss (1986) also found that a belief in the inferiority of females characterized rape societies. Lottes (1984, cited in Lottes, 1988) correlated the lower status of women with rape-proneness in men. The problem with this theory is that gender inequality exists at some level in most societies, and it is difficult to differentiate the inferior status of women from other characteristics of a society as a cause of rape.

Baron and Straus (1989) led an in-depth study of gender equality which attempted to identify status as an independent variable associated with rape incidence. Specifically, they conducted a state-by-state study of status attainment by women in the way of education, occupation, and political power, compared to men, and correlated it with the incidence of rape in each state. They found low but insignificant evidence to support a gender (status) inequality explanation of rape. Although it seems reasonable to assume that a generally inferior status of women may contributed to the prevalence of rape, more research is needed with regard to status attainment and rape in order to support empirically a gender inequality theory.

Social Learning Theory

A common theoretical basis for the explanation of rape in our society is the social learning theory. The social learning theory is defined as "an integration of differential association with differential reinforcement, so that people with whom one interacts are the reinforcers that result in learning of deviant and nondeviant behavior" (Akers, 1973, cited in Pagelow, 1984). Akers asserted that the behavior that is most strongly reinforced by people in one's environment is that which one will most frequently exhibit. An important element of the theory is that positive reinforcement has a greater effect on one's behavior than does punishment.

We learn our social behavior from various sources. One source is the family, in which social learning takes the form of modeling, that is, the child learns a behavior by seeing it exhibited by another esteemed person (such as a parent). Bandura (1973, cited in Pagelow, 1984) found that male adult models, particularly, have a strong effect on a child's social learning, and especially on a boy's social learning. A young man who comes from a family where violence and aggression were exhibited by his father may consider the use of force and aggression in his dating relationships acceptable and even admirable. Reinforcement later in life can take many forms, the most obvious one being success in using violence to attain a desired outcome. For example, a man who wants sexual activity in his dating relationships and gets it by raping his dates without punishment will probably continue to be sexually abusive. Other forms of reinforcement may be less obvious yet significant. They will be discussed later in the paper.

Men can also achieve social learning from their peers. A variation on the social learning theory, the social support theory, emphasizes the effects of a male social network on an individual. Social support theory has traditionally been used to explain how involvement in a social network can contribute to an individual's well-being. However, it works equally well to explain how a group can encourage an individual's deviant behavior. DeKeseredy (1988) used the findings of a number of researchers in social support theory to show how social interactions with male peers encourage male violence toward women in dating relationships, particularly as a strategy for dealing with stress.

A number of researchers (Alder, 1985; Bowker, 1983; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; all cited in DeKeseredy, 1988) have found empirical evidence to support the contention that the influence of a male support network can lead to female abuse. Alder's research showed strong correlations between subjects' self-reported sexually aggressive behavior and relationships with sexually aggressive peers. Bowker correlated the amount of time men spent with male friends and the frequency with which they battered their wives. He found that there are "standards of gratification" that men learn from their social support groups, which make them believe they have to maintain dominance at any cost. He asserted that standards of gratification can also be learned from the family, but that they are fully reinforced in aggressive male peer groups. DeKeseredy (1988) used the above evidence to show that male support groups directly affect an individual's aggression toward a woman. The problem with such evidence is that it is potentially dangerous circular reasoning; it is difficult to know if men participate in such groups because they share interests and characteristics, or if being in such groups leads them to share interests and characteristics. More research is needed to study men before and after they become members of these networks in order to determine the effects of the networks. Nevertheless, the research is significant and provides us with some real insight into social support groups and the perpetuation of violence and aggression.

Another aspect of the social support theory is that social support networks provide men with functional support (in the form of information and esteem) in dealing with stress in their relationships (Ageton, 1983; Blanchard, 1959; Kanin, 1984; Leslie, 1979; Whitehead, 1976; all cited in DeKeseredy, 1988). Several studies found that male sexual behavior was influenced by the sexual behavior, or the perceived sexual behavior, of their male peers. In other words, men who perceived their peers to be sexually aggressive were more likely to express sexual aggression in their own relationships (Leslie, 1979; Mirande, 1968; Schulz, 1977; all cited in DeKeseredy, 1988). Kanin found that 71% of subjects who thought they had raped someone stated that they had been influenced by their male peer group. Furthermore, in Ageton's nationally conducted survey on adolescent sexual assault, 40% of the subjects who reported being sexually abusive said that their friends knew about their abusive behavior and many condoned it. Thus researchers have found again and again that men find a significant amount of support for sexual aggression toward women in their male support networks, both directly (through direct advice) and indirectly (through perceptions about what their peers are doing).

Rape Myths

Psychopathological, physiological, and sociocultural theories, including theories of legitimate violence, various aspects of gender, and social learning provide theoretical frameworks for understanding the existence and prevalence of rape in our society. Recent research has drawn attention to other aspects of rape that do not fit into traditional theoretical explanations, but which nonetheless provide a means for understanding it. Specifically, researchers have consistently found that there are several myths about rape and rape-supportive attitudes, many of which have been mentioned in earlier sections of this paper, which are widely accepted and used to justify rape. These persistent myths and attitudes provide a false ideology which "allows the man both to engage in the otherwise forbidden behavior and to rationalize and justify it after the event" (Weis & Borges, 1975, cited in Lottes, 1988). Although these rape myths are upheld by all kinds of people, it is not surprising that there is a particularly strong correlation between belief in rape myths and the self-reporting of sexually abusive behavior. For this reason, we believe that any thorough discussion of acquaintance/date rape must incorporate the research of documented rape myths such as the ones described below.[2]

Women enjoy sexual violence. Burt and Estep (1981) reported that approximately one fifth of an adult sample believed the myth that women enjoy sexual violence. Malamuth, Haber and Feshbach (1980) found that a significant portion of college students thought that some women would enjoy being raped. More men than women believed this; however, whereas no women reported that they themselves would enjoy sexual violence, they thought that about one fourth of the female population would enjoy rape to some degree. No evidence has been found to support the notion that women enjoy rape to any degree. In fact, research has shown again and again that rape is terrifying, humiliating, and traumatizing for women.

Sex is the primary motivation for rape. Many researchers have found that it is a common belief that sex is the main motivation for rape (Beneke, 1982; Burt & Estep, 1981; Cherry, 1983; Dean & deBruyn-Kops, 1982; Deming & Eppy,

---

[2] All citations in the following discussion of rape myths will be found in the section on "Sexual Socialization and Attitudes Toward Rape," by I. Lottes, in Rape and Sexual Assault II, A. W. Burgess (ed.), 1988.

1981; Griffin, 1971; Russell, 1975; Weis & Borges, 1975). However, in a study of 500 rapists, Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom (1977) found that rape was less an expression of sexuality than an expression of power and anger.

Women are responsible for rape prevention. Researchers have found that college students, courts, prosecutors, policeman, and jurors alike uphold the belief that to some degree the survivor is responsible for the rape (Cherry, 1983; Goodchilds & Zellman, 1984; Schultz & DeSavage, 1975; Williams, 1984). Weis and Borges (1975) found that rape survivors are often accused of having "asked for it." Brownmiller (1975) used statistics from the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence to compare the relative responsibility of the victim in various crimes. She found that rape survivors are the least responsible for their assaults. All research aside, we would assert that no women are responsible for sexual crimes committed against them.

Only certain women are raped. Studies have shown that it is widely believed that rape survivors are a select group of women based on a particular set of characteristics. For example, Burt and Albin (1981) found that 70% of adults sampled agreed with the following statement: "In the majority of rapes, the victim was promiscuous or had a bad reputation." By contrast, in a study of rape survivors from the Washington, D.C. area, 82% were considered to have a "good reputation" (Griffin, 1971). In court trials rape victims are most likely to be supported by male jurors if they are thought to have "good moral character" (Pugh, 1983).

Women falsely report rape. Burt (1980) found in a sample of adults that more than half agreed that at least 50% of reported rapes are only reported because "the woman was trying to get back at a man she was angry with or was trying to cover up an illegitimate pregnancy." In general, rape survivors struggle with challenges to their credibility by police officers, jurors, medical workers, the public, and, in many cases, even by family and friends. In reality, only about 2% of all rapes and related sex charges have been determined to be false (Ehrhart & Sandler, 1985). Rather, underreporting of rape is a huge problem.

Women are less desirable after rape. Some researchers hold that women often fail to report rape because they feel there is a stigma attached to being a rape survivor (Burt & Estep, 1981; Rose, 1977; Russell, 1975; Weis & Borges, 1975). Indeed, many people do believe that being raped damages the integrity of a woman. Williams (1979) found that 45% of Mexican-Americans, 31% of blacks, and 13% of whites agreed that "once a girl is raped, her reputation is ruined." Although it is difficult to see how this belief might give permission to commit rape, it does provide another means by which the assailant can de-emphasize the significance of his crime after it has happened: the rapist may think to himself that "she is no good anyway."

In some situations, rape is justified. Goodchilds and Zellman (1984) and Wheeler and Utigard (1984) found that a significant number of high school and college students believe that rape is justified in some situations. Many adults additionally believe that some women are legitimate targets of sexual victimization (Burt & Estep, 1981; Weis & Borges, 1975). One of the factors that was found to legitimize rape was in cases where there was some degree of acquaintance between the survivor and her attacker. Mahoney (1983) found that many people believe in male sexual access rights. In a sample of college males, 45% thought it was acceptable for a man to hold a woman down and physically force her to have sex with him if she got him sexually excited; 36% said this was acceptable if she let him touch her breasts. Other legitimizing factors cited earlier in this paper include money, (if the male had spent money on the female) and the consumption of drugs or alcohol (Giarrusso et al, 1979).

It is interesting to note that while rape myths may not comprise a sociological theory of rape in and of themselves, they provide an integration of aspects of other theories which traditionally have attempted to explain rape. Rape myths may serve to legitimate and endorse violence and traditional gender roles while providing a structure for social learning; rape myths may provide a system of reinforcement of sexual aggression.

Towards a Solution

One of the major obstacles in confronting acquaintance/date rape problems at this time is the underreporting of date rape incidents. It is only recently that the prevalence of date rape has been revealed at the college level. According to Koss, the rates of reporting date rape to police are still discouragingly low. Also, Koss has reported that most of the women in her survey who have been survivors of date rape were attacked before college during their high school years (Koss et al., 1987). We believe that it is high school girls who are most at risk of becoming date rape victims. Thus, our proposed interventions are targeted at improving awareness of date rape, increasing the reporting of date rape, and preventing date rape in high school communities. We believe that the primary target of educational intervention should be junior high and middle school-aged children who are just reaching puberty and beginning to explore their sexuality through dating relationships. However, because of the parental and community resistance which may arise against teaching younger children about date rape, we propose that targeting high school children at this time will provide a foothold into the community. With success at this level, future intervention strategies might then be applied to younger children.

Before these programs can be implemented, an extensive survey of high school populations is needed to unveil the true scope of date rape in teenagers. If, as we believe, date rape is as prevalent if not more prevalent in teenage compared to college-age women, then legislators and other community leaders need to be aware of it. Once the true nature and scope of the problem has been revealed and people in general are more aware of it, then it can treated.

One point we wish to emphasize is that the proposed programs are geared to the survivor: how she can learn to recognize what date rape is and how she can prevent a date rape attack. We acknowledge that it is not fair to place the burden of prevention upon the victim. A vital fact to remember is that it is men and boys who are the root of this problem, not girls and women. It is males in our society who need to come to terms with what "masculinity" really is and what a loving relationship entails. Because of this, we encourage the establishment of men's and boys' discussion groups, although we do not discuss such interventions in this paper. These programs would enable men to feel comfortable talking about themselves and provide an emotional outlet for them. Such groups could also teach their members how to form real emotional relationships and how to improve their interactions with women. Groups of this kind are neither unrealistic nor impractical. The success of MOVE (Men

Overcoming Violence) offers an excellent model. According to much of the rape literature, a root cause of rape is its implicit or explicit reinforcement or encouragement among male peers. If male peer groups could learn to value healthy sexual relationships, perhaps men would be discouraged from perpetrating sexual assault.

Date Rape Interventions Programs

The goals of the intervention strategies we advocate are threefold: (1) to educate young men and women by increasing their awareness and understanding of the date rape issue; (2) to protect women by helping them to better recognize potentially dangerous situations and by teaching young women to defend themselves should they encounter such circumstances; and (3) to facilitate increased reporting of date rape, particularly among the teenage population. Two programs provide the focus for our interventions. The first is a teen theater group, the "T-Squared" Project, in which student-authored and student-performed theatrical pieces, followed by small group discussions, are used to give teens a personalized encounter with the date rape dilemma. The second intervention strategy promotes the development of women's self-defense training at the high school level.

Several researchers have found that "personalized" rape education groups are most effective in increasing unmarried women's awareness of their vulnerability and in decreasing their risk-taking behavior. Our perception is that college campuses have stepped up their efforts to support such personalized education projects at the university level. However, if truly effective prevention is the ultimate goal, we believe that date rape education programs need to focus on high school students, particularly those in 9th and 10th grades. Ideally, the interventions we are presenting would ultimately "trickle down" to the middle school and junior high students. As indicated earlier, middle school students as well as high school students express many views about sex-roles in the dating situation that we associate with date rape (Turner, 1990).

Some teachers of health and sex education will argue that date rape education is already available for these age groups. Indeed, in the context of other health education topics, such communication skills, students may engage in activities and discussions that contribute, at least indirectly, to their gaining a better understanding of the nature of date rape. Below are six primary aims of sex education reported by Campbell (1987) that one finds in curricula for this age group, which are common in many western industrialized countries:

1) values clarification
2) development of tolerance and respect for others
3) gaining communication and interpersonal skills
4) developing a sense of self-worth or positive self-esteem
5) development of decision-making skills
6) integration of human sexuality as a positive dimension of self

Clearly, teachers could connect date rape to many of these areas. For example, Krebill and Taylor (1987) developed a teaching guide that contains a series of activities for the sex education curriculum, which is used by the majority of California's public middle and secondary schools. A number of these activities pertain to building skills for interacting in an intimate setting and decreasing the likelihood of miscommunication between two dating partners. However, there is great variability between schools and classrooms when it comes to actual implementation of these activities. Many teachers remain uncomfortable with this particular subject area and tend to avoid it. For those who are comfortable, the activities require exceptional skill on the part of the teacher to promote valuable discussion and to carefully interpret student comments. Additionally, there is the issue of whether teachers are the most effective facilitators with respect to the issues of dating and intimacy. Sziron (1988) found that, uniformly, young teenagers preferred to hear from other students when it came to issues surrounding sex education. Many schools now use older students, who have received special training in leading discussions among their peers, as facilitators in this setting.

Teen Theater Project

With this background in mind, the purpose of the Teen Theater or T-Squared Project is threefold: (1) to give young men and women a "personalized" exposure to the issues surrounding date rape; (2) to create a common experience for a large group of students in a given school that includes small group discussion; (3) to create a network for support in the local community that could ultimately facilitate reporting.

In the late 1980s, a highly successful teen drug education project was founded in San Francisco which used theater as its presentation medium. The group called itself TKO — Teen's Kick Off. This was a traveling group of teenagers recovering from alcohol and/or drug addiction, who had created a theater piece about their own experiences with substance abuse. Their presentation was powerful, artistic, and highly personal. Without exception it was able to strike a chord within students in the audience because of their own (or a loved one's) struggle with substance abuse. (In one school in San Francisco, a student in the audience was so deeply affected that he actually returned to the school a few years later as an actor in the program.) At the end of their presentation, the student actors would take questions from the audience. Following that, the audience would break up into small groups for discussion facilitated by a teacher or an older student; often the actors would participate in these conversations as well.

T-Squared would be based on the TKO concept. An adult director/producer would go out to local crisis centers, high schools, and perhaps even police departments to put together the first group of four student actors--two women and two men. Using their own words, the actors would collectively author the theater piece. An example of the kind of scene that might result is as follows:

> THE SCENE: Four large, painted, wooden cubes of various sizes are placed on the floor. Two students are standing on their cubes. Two are sitting. All have their backs turned to the audience.
>
> VOICE: One out of every four women will be raped in her lifetime. More than 80% of these victims will know the person who raped them.
>
> LISA: (sitting, turns around to face the audience) I think I spent the whole week getting ready for that night. My nails, my hair, finding just right color stockings. I wanted everything to be perfect. I was so excited. I remember thinking, God, the senior prom!... I was a sophomore, he was the senior---Todd Beckham--- I'd known him since the third grade. I'd probably had a crush on him since about the sixth. How could I have been so stupid? Actually, the prom part was fun, we danced, kissed a lot, his hand would slowly makes its way down from my back to my butt during slow songs, but I'd just push it back up---kind of a game you know. But afterwards....that wasn't a game. I never realized he was so much stronger than me. I tried to fight him.... to get out from underneath him, but there was no room in the car. I can still feel my skin tearing as he forced his way in. Oh Mom, I wanted to tell you, but I just couldn't....I didn't want to disappoint you. And I didn't know what you'd think....I just wish I'd told someone. Dad, the other night, you asked me why I haven't been spending time with Todd? Shit....how am I supposed to answer that? He raped me, Daddy, he RAPED me.[3]

---

[3] This monologue is based upon an actual account shared by one of the student actors.

The monologues would be carefully linked together. They would include the recollections of both offenders and victims--touching on a variety of topics: miscommunication, traditional gender and sex roles, rape myths, etc. Scenes would be connected with announcements of statistics about the incidence and prevalence of date rape. While the power of TKO has been the individual testimony of individual students in the context of a monologue, it is also possible that some portions of T-Squared could involve two teenagers acting out scenes of some of the more controversial "gray areas" of the date rape issue.[4] For example, a young man and woman discussing whether or not they will have sex could serve as this kind of interactive piece. Including the male perspective is critical. Unless young men feel that T-Squared has something important to say to them, the project will fail. They need to see that date rape is an issue for everyone, not just just women. At the end of the dramatic portion of the presentation, the student actors of T-Squared would respond to questions from the audience. The students would then be placed into groups of 10-15 to discuss the piece with a particular set of discussion questions.

During the period that the initial T-Squared presentation is being written and rehearsed, the group would need to begin arranging for performances in the local high schools and community centers. Running the T-Squared Program through a school district office would facilitate this process. The long-term idea is that the T-Squared office, possibly located in a particular school, church, community center, or crisis center, would develop a reputation as a community resource, a starting place for getting help or gathering information. After six months, there would be two performing groups. The new members would come from local schools, etc., where they had seen the original presentation. Because it would continuously takes on new members, T-Squared would always be changing. The program could visit schools in the community on an annual basis, as the show would always be slightly different.

---

[4] Speaking to one's peers about drug and alcohol addiction is arguably "safer" than relating a personal date rape experience in a public setting. Some of the student actors might feel more comfortable playing a scene based on the experience of someone else in the group than they would in speaking a monologue based on their own experience.

Ultimately, T-Squared would become a part of the school and community culture in the places where the group performed regularly. The issues raised during the performance and discussed afterwards would grow to be community issues and school issues. Such a modest program is only a small start, but seemingly minor efforts can serve as the seeds of major social transformation. The following intervention aims to achieve similar goals.

Self-Defense for High School Girls

In researching current rape prevention programs, we have found that the overwhelming majority actually teach rape avoidance rather than rape prevention, the difference being that rape avoidance programs are geared to teach women how to avoid rape once she is in a precarious situation, rather than teaching men and women how to prevent such a situation altogether. Whereas self-defense or assertiveness classes may represent real progress in rape awareness and in changing attitudes toward women, they may also reflect a persistent "blaming the victim" ideology at an institutional level. Although such programs stress that the woman is not to blame for a rape, their implication is that rape can be stopped by changing the behavior of the victim. This means that a woman is still held largely responsible for the behavior of her attacker. Our hope is that in the future less attention will be focused on the victims of sexual violence, and that more attention will be directed toward the assailant and on traditions and institutions that support a rape society.

Nevertheless, there are several reasons why rape avoidance programs for women, specifically self-defense classes, can be a critical part of ending the crime of rape. First, because women's own safety and well-being is at stake, women have a greater and more urgent interest in working toward ending rape and are willing (and even eager) to learn how to protect themselves. Second, self-defense classes can facilitate the growth of a new gender identity for women. A new female gender identity will not only bring about changes in women's inner lives, but also subsequently in the ways they interact with men. Third, self-defense classes can act as a catalyst to consciousness-raising in the surrounding community. The very presence of such classes challenges the community to acknowledge the prevalence and significance of sexual assault. Finally, self-defense classes provide a support network that acts as a base from which women can fight sexism. Through the classes, women come to understand their shared struggles and learn to work together for their common good. In short, self-defense classes work toward ending rape because they address the urgent need for women's safety while facilitating critical changes in individuals and the community.

Because adolescence is a critical stage in the development of sexual wellness and interpersonal skills, it is crucial that rape intervention begins prior to college. Therefore, we advocate the implementation of self-defense classes for girls beginning in high school. Such classes would specifically be geared toward the destruction of harmful rape myths and rape supportive attitudes, and the instruction of healthy understandings of adolescent and adult sexual interactions.

Components of the Self-Defense Program

We suggest that high-school self-defense classes consist of three primary components: reading material, assertiveness training, and the instruction of physical self-defense maneuvers. Topics for reading material should include definitions of rape, incidence of rape, the legal process of reporting rape, resources available to rape survivors, rape myths, and rape-supportive attitudes (particularly among teenagers). Other topics that might be addressed are the history of the oppression of women and the women's movement, gender roles and socialization, the media (with respect to violence toward women), and incest and child sexual abuse. Materials could be taken from a variety of periodicals, books, and pamphlets.

The second component of the program would be assertiveness training. Assertiveness training should be based on the idea that girls need to learn to confront and defend themselves from the full range of attacks against women. The goal of the training is to help girls learn to identify their wants, needs, and feelings in various situations and how to communicate them clearly and effectively. Through role playing, skits, and group discussion, girls would learn how to develop verbal and non-verbal assertiveness skills. Emphasis would be on dating situations such as proms and parties and on prevention of high-risk situations.

Physical self-defense moves would be taught as the third component of such classes so that, in the event of a physical assault, girls would know how to defend themselves through fighting, if they chose to do so. The physical part of the class should focus on teaching self-defense options. The moves taught would be based on the strengths of the female body versus the weaknesses of the male body. Girls would learn a variety of moves, both disabling and non-disabling.

Depending on the extensiveness of the class, papers, journals and community projects could also be included in the curriculum.

Leadership for Self-Defense Programs

Strong leadership is the real cornerstone for a successful self-defense program, as it is for many high school educational programs. In whatever form they take, classes need to be overseen by an individual or group that is committed not only to ensuring the success of the program for that year, but also to facilitating the continuation of the program. Leaders' responsibilities might include training in self-defense and in teaching self-defense classes, training other instructors, working with the school and community to develop a time and place for the program, gathering reading materials, acquiring equipment, conducting educational programs, advertising the program, and evaluating the program, among other things. A successful program would necessarily be directed by someone who is committed to the program and to the community as well as being dynamic and enthusiastic about working with teens. The following are three ideas about what kind of form leadership for a self-defense class might take.

Student office. One way to establish an on-going self-defense program for girls in high school might be to establish a student office, much like a student government position, specifically for the purpose of overseeing the program. An officer could be selected by students or staff and would be responsible for working with other faculty, staff, and students to create the program for that year. The officer would also be responsible for training the incoming officer for the next year. The person in this position could solicit help from supportive adult community members (such as a rape crisis center worker) or parents. The officer could also be responsible for other school programs having to do with issues of sexual assault. An incentive for such an office could be in the form of a special award or scholarship.

School club. The program could also take place under the leadership of a school club. A club could be established specifically for the purpose of implementing self-defense classes, or such classes could become a part of a previously-established club's activities (women's groups or social activist groups might be interested in the program). Such a format would likely work very well because a school club has leadership within itself (for example, club president), it is made up of a group of committed students, and it has the benefit of adult sponsorship. It would enjoy a variety a resources and an organizational structure that would lend itself to success.

College intern. A third possible form of leadership for high school self-defense classes might be through some sort of college intern position. College students could be volunteers or paid leaders, and might be attending a college near to the high school, taking a year off, or looking for a temporary position post-graduation. (Teach-for-America is one program that could serve as a model for this position.) Because many college students are looking for meaningful job experience and are young and enthusiastic, they are a likely resource and could work as successful liaisons between students in the high school and adults in the school and community.

These are three possible resources for leadership for a high school self-defense program. The options are really limitless. We want to stress that the success of this program lies in its ability to meet the needs and wants of the community. The momentum of the program should be generated by the people in the school community, and the format should be specific to community resources and sensitive to community values.

Generating Interest in Self-Defense Classes

T-Squared (the teen theatrical presentation on issues of sexual assault) could serve to kick-off self-defense classes. In this way, self-defense classes would provide a concrete opportunity for students to follow-up on the feelings about and interest in rape that T-Squared generates. Similar school-wide educational programs (for example, through a community rape-crisis center) about rape could also serve to introduce rape as a school-community issue. Interest in self-defense classes could be furthered through educational presentations for parents or the Parent-Teacher-Student Association, or through sample workshops given to student groups (such as student government), school administrators, or other interested parties.

Format of Self-Defense Classes

The format of self-defense classes would vary depending on the level of interest of the school and surrounding community, and the resources available. Class format could range from weekend workshops to scheduled elective classes as part of the regular school curriculum. For a self-defense program to succeed, it is crucial that the format of the class be community-specific. However, we do recommend that, as much as possible, schools try to implement a program where peers teach peers. We believe that, in general, teens are much

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

more open, honest, and enthusiastic about programs in which they teach and learn from each other. Furthermore, self-defense classes are founded on the idea that women can teach themselves and protect themselves. An all-female environment with peer instruction is an ideal situation for learning self-defense.

Marital Rape

The confusion and trauma inherent in a rape perpetrated by a person with whom one has established a degree of trust, can only be exacerbated when the violation involves the deeply intimate relationship between marital partners. The special nature of the spousal relationship, both in its interpersonal and its legal aspects, make marital rape an especially tangled problem to recognize and to resolve. In this section, we address the question of marital rape and attempt to shed light on its particular nature.

Defining marital rape is difficult, as is attempting to judge its prevalence. Before 1977, there was no existing literature on marital rape at all, and the first book on the subject written in the English language, Rape in Marriage, was only published within the past decade (Russell, 1982). In addition, an uncertain societal perception of rape as a crime, confounded by the institutional sanctity of marriage, makes accurate reporting and creation of legal interventions for marital rape a challenge for researchers, lawyers, and those who develop our public policies.

The first hurdle in the problem of marital rape is agreement on terms and definitions. We will use the term *marital rape*, although some researchers prefer *spousal rape* or *wife rape*. Most feminist researchers, including

Russell, prefer the latter term because it emphasizes that the crime is not gender neutral. She argues that the term spouse abuse fosters the illusion that the protection of husbands is being sought, whereas we focus primarily on the protection of wives.

Next, we must agree what marital rape is. Yllo and Finkelhor (1985) asserted that "rape occurs when a person has sex with another by force and without his or her consent." Others favor a broader definition. Brownmiller (1975), for example, defined rape as any sexual intimacy forced on one person by another. Frieze (1983) also used this perspective when she defined marital rape as "forced sexual activity demanded of a wife by her husband." "Categorization of an act as rape can be difficult," stated Russell (1982). "Some borderline cases...do not qualify as rape [but] they reflect the continuum of sexual behavior, not merely rape or its absence."

Yllo and Finkelhor (1985) have broken down the types of coercion that women have reported used by husbands to initiate sexual activity. The first type is "social coercion." This is the argument, often presented by women themselves, that sex is a "wifely duty," to be provided wherever and whenever the husband wishes. Another form of coercion is termed "interpersonal coercion," which is often similar to the emotional force used on battered women. Interpersonal coercion can include nonphysical threats such as blackmail, economic deprivation, and threats of desertion. The third coercive method is the threat of physical force, which may consist of implicit or explicit suggestions of harm to a woman or her children. Lastly, there is actual physical force, which can range from restraint or physical manipulation to battering, burning, or beating the wife into sexual submission.

Many women do not like to admit that rape (or any other type of abuse) has been committed by their "lawfully-wedded husbands" and they tend to minimize any violence that has occurred. By asking questions regarding pressure or force used by a husband in order to get sex, researchers can get a better idea about the actual prevalence of marital rape. A clear example of the productivity of rephrasing very delicate and personal questions is reflected in data collected by Frieze (1983). She conducted an interview study in Pittsburgh of 137 women from a battered women's shelter and 137 demographically matched non-battered women. When the question "Have you ever been raped by your husband?" was posed, 3% of the non-battered and 34% of the battered women answered in the affirmative. However, the question "Has your husband ever pressured you to have sex against your wishes?" drew a positive response from 45% of the non-battered women and 73% of the battered women.

Russell (1985) has carried out the most extensive studies on marital rape. Her interview study of 990 women in the San Francisco area was one of the first contributions to the research and helped to dispel the notion that marital rape is a rare phenomenon. In her study, 12% of the ever-married women reported that their husbands "had committed acts that would qualify under the legal definition of rape in California." A total of 14% of the wives had been sexually assaulted in some way by their spouses. Finkelhor and Yllo (1985) did a similar interview study in Boston. Altogether, 323 women were questioned and "of these, 10% reported that their husbands had used force or threat of force to try to have sex with them."

In her survey study, Frieze identified one of the major stumbling blocks to eliminating marital rape as being the lack of legal repercussions in many states. "The specific exclusion of marital rape from the valid categories of illegal acts, in many rape laws, implies that marital rape does not occur with sufficient frequency for the legal system to be concerned" (Frieze, 1983). One of the most startling findings in these marital rape studies is that, contrary to previous beliefs, it appears that rape within marriage is, in fact, the most common form of rape. Russell's study found that twice as many women had been raped by their husbands than had been raped by a stranger (Russell, 1982). "Marital rape remains the least recognized [of sexual crimes], and its victims remain the most silenced. . . . [Therefore,] although between 10% and 14% of married women surveyed acknowledged a sexual assault by a husband, the real incidence is probably higher, but it is difficult to estimate by how much" (Yllo & Finkelhor, 1985).

Laws in many states, and in most countries, have a strict definition of rape which often includes a clause of marital rape exemption. Legal statutes "usually define rape as the forcible penetration of the body of a woman not the wife of the perpetrator, and so according to them, rape in marriage is a legal impossibility" (Russell, 1982). Brownmiller (1975) related the biblical origins of the concept of "carnal knowledge." "Any carnal knowledge (criminal rape) outside the marriage contract was 'unlawful.' And any carnal knowledge within the marriage contract was, by definition, 'lawful.' This ancient notion denies the possibility of marital rape. "Thus," Brownmiller wrote, "as the law evolved, the idea that a husband could be prosecuted for raping his wife was unthinkable, for the law was conceived to protect his interests, not those of his wife." This exemption was incorporated into modern legal statutes and was first officially pronounced by Matthew Hale in 1736. As the Chief Justice of

England, he published a statement in the History of Pleas of the Crown, which read as follows:

> But the husband cannot be guilty of a rape committed by himself upon his lawful wife, for by their mutual matrimonial consent and contract the wife hath given up herself in this kind unto the husband which she cannot retract.

The implication behind this ruling was that "marriage, with the promise to obey, implied the right to sexual intercourse with the wife upon all occasions" (Feild & Bienen, 1980). In the past 150 years, little has changed regarding the legal status of marital rape. Joanne Schulman, the staff attorney at the National Center on Women and Family Law, has compiled some of the most up-to-date data on changes in the rape laws in this country. In her most current study of the nation as a whole, she reported that, as of January, 1982, approximately 36 of the 50 states and the District of Columbia exempted a husband from prosecution for the rape of a wife with whom he was currently living. Thirteen states extended this exemption, not only to ex-husbands, but to cohabiting lovers as well (Schulman, 1980). Most legislators at the time felt that this expansion of cohabitation rights was a "modern step." (Unfortunately, other rights granted to married couples, such as spousal support or civil protection orders, are not included in most of this type of legislation.) Russell commented that these laws, like those written in the past, contain the implicit assumption that, "upon marrying (or cohabiting), a woman gives permanent and irrevocable (short of divorce) consent to any and all approaches" that a husband or lover wishes to make (Russell, 1982).

Slowly, some states are retracting their spousal exemption clauses, and are beginning to acknowledge marital rape as a crime. In 1977, the marital immunity clause was removed from Oregon's rape statutes. The following year, in a widely publicized case, John Rideout was indicted for raping his wife. He was the first husband charged with marital rape to be criminally prosecuted while still living with his wife. "Despite the fact that the publicity about his case was often critical of Greta Rideout and [about] the fact that a husband could be accused of raping his wife, [this case] did more than any other to raise the [national] consciousness about the issues of wife rape" (Russell, 1982). In the four years that followed (through 1981), 47 husbands were charged with raping their wives and, of the 23 cases that went to trial, 19 resulted in convictions. Thus, "49% of the husbands charged with wife rape [to that time] were convicted" (Barden, 1981). Note that this conviction rate is much higher than has ever been attained for perpetrators who rape outside of marriage. These figures combat the myth that marital rape laws cannot be enforced, one of the most pervasive reasons given for retention of marital exemption clauses.

Why do men rape their wives? Many causal attributions given by outsiders and society in general tend to blame the wife to some degree. There is a pervasive belief, similar to the blame placed on the victims of acquaintance or date rape, that women who are raped by their husbands must have teased their spouses, withheld love or sex, or made the husbands angry enough that they lashed out at their wives sexually. Frieze's study of marital rape contradicted these societal beliefs. She reported, "Many of the stereotypes about marital rape and its causes are not valid. There is little evidence that women provoke the rapes....Instead, the husbands who raped their wives appeared to like violent sex." Furthermore, every woman Frieze interviewed believed that the responsibility for their rape lay with the husbands. "Differences were evident only in the [victim's] estimation of the stability of the causal factors" (Frieze, 1983).

The status characteristics of husband-rapists also contradict societal images of the "typical" rapist. Russell (1982), for example, found that there is little relation between wife rape and amount (or lack) of education, nor was there correlation between social class and marital rape. Only 20% of reported husband rapists were in families living below the poverty level, and 36% held upper middle-class occupations. Marital rape occurs across racial and ethnic lines as well. (A slightly disproportionately greater number of Latinos and Caucasians were reported as husband rapists, and Asian assailants were slightly underrepresented in Russell's study.) Husbands who raped were several years older than their spouses, and were also, on average, older than the "police-blotter rapists" described by Brownmiller (1975). Russell concluded that the social characteristics of husband rapists "may differ greatly from those of men who rape women other than their wives [i.e. stranger rapists]" (Russell, 1982).

Groth (1979) conducted an extensive study, in which, the data were based solely on convicted rapists. Although only some of the men had raped their wives, this remains some of the most comprehensive information about rape perpetrators that has been compiled. A salient finding was that "sex is seen [for most of these men] as the solution to all marital problems, as well as a source of validation for their masculine identities" (Groth, 1979). Each rapist and each rape case has its own story, but Groth described the three types of motives that he believed to lie behind most rapes. These typologies fit closely with a similar theory proposed by Yllo (1981), about marital rape in particular. Groth discussed, first, "sadistic rape" by husbands who enjoy hurting their wives in the course of raping them. Yllo's theory described some of these men as high demanding, "obsessive" rapists who demand large amounts or unusual acts of sex. Groth's second category was "power rape" (referred to by Yllo as "force-only" rape), which consists of "assaults committed primarily to assert dominance and control over women." The marriages in which this type of rape occurred were reported to contain little or no physical violence. By contrast is the third type of rapist (who is labeled as the "battering rapist" by Yllo). The rapes in these relationships, categorized by Groth as "anger rapes," usually occurred in a battering context and were defined as "assaults committed primarily to express hostility towards women, to retaliate against them and humiliate them" (Groth, 1979).

In terms of frequency of occurrence of each of these types of rape, Groth believed that "The sadistic rapist who may maim and murder is extremely rare....The anger rapist, who brutalizes his victim, leaving her with...obvious signs of attack, is more common, and the power rapist, who asserts his masculinity by coercing and subduing his victim, is by far the most common" (Groth, 1979).

Frieze (1983) went so far as to suggest that marital rape is much more rare in otherwise nonviolent marriages. In her study, Frieze found that "men who had raped their wives were significantly more likely to want to have sex after being violent, and to associate sex and physical force in other ways." Rape in general, as it is commonly agreed by researchers, is not an act of sex, but rather an act of power. "Marital rapists are men whose sexuality has become invested with many other psychological meanings aside from gratification per se " (Groth, 1979). And, again, in a report by Groth and Gary (1981), rapists were described as being "uncomfortable with emotional intimacy...their [marital] relations are not characterized by equality, reciprocity, mutuality or sharing....[Instead,] wives are regarded as possessions or even opponents to be used, controlled, or dominated."

It must be noted that is some criticism of Groth's data, as they are based only on convicted rapists. Some researchers (and feminists) also criticize his work due to the fact that his theory divides responsibility for wife rape between the offender and the victim (for intensifying his existing anger, etc.). It also "denies the significance of the culturally existing power imbalance between husband and wife" (Russell, 1982). Most husbands still exercise not only physical power over their wives but also enjoy the "power imbedded in the structure of the family and reinforced by cultural notions" (Frieze, 1983).

Another example of the power imbedded in societal notions of male and female relational roles is reflected in the fact that the victims of wife rape were often found by Russell (1982) to have been sexually abused "in childhood as well as in their adult years—by people other than their husbands." Also, two thirds of the wives she interviewed were raped for the first time at young ages (between 13 and 24), often by husbands who were much older than they. Other than historical similarities, there were few social characteristics shared by the majority of marital rape victims; she found little connection between marital rape and the SES or educational level of the victims. The wives, like the perpetrators, came from all races and ethnic groups. The lowest amounts of wife rape were reported by Asian women, and a slightly higher incidence was reported by black women (although the number of black victims in proportion to other ethnic groups was much lower than had been previously reported). Another interesting finding was that regarding adherence to tradition (as measured by motherhood, work history, and main economic provider). "Raped wives were no more traditional than non-raped wives and, in addition, wives who were subjected to at least one experience of wife-beating [or rape] are no more traditional than wives who are never a victim of husband violence" (Russell, 1982). The conclusion reached by Russell and others is that "we can better predict the likelihood of rape from a husband's characteristics than from the wife's; the wife's characteristics appear to be more relevant to how [she] handles the rape" (Russell, 1982). The adherence to tradition variable, for example, correlates positively with the amount of blame the woman places on herself, with the likelihood that the woman will find fault with her own actions, and with the possibility that she will choose to stay with the abusive spouse in an attempt to save the marriage.

Victims undergo a variety of emotional and behavioral reactions following a marital rape. Frieze (1983) found that feelings immediately after the rape were often complex but, "they tended to be of four main sorts: betrayal, anger, humiliation and guilt." Over time, she found, some of these responses waned or changed.

Finkelhor and Yllo (1980) reported similar responses in the women they interviewed, with anger being reported as the most vivid emotion that was recalled, as well as intense feelings of humiliation. According to these researchers, "Rape is traumatic not because it is with someone you don't know, but because it is with someone you don't want—whether stranger, friend, or husband." Often, the most salient aspects of the rape, for the victim, are the violence, the loss of control, and the betrayal of trust. "Women raped by their husbands are traumatized...in their ability to trust anyone. [This] kind of violation is much harder to guard against [than the] pure fear which follows rape by a stranger." For some marital rape victims, physical symptoms such as vomiting and nausea were a part of the emotional turmoil following the incident of rape. In more violent batterings, physiological damages to the genitals and rectum were also consequences of forced sex (Finkelhor & Yllo, 1980).

Returning to the stereotype that rape within marriage is not as serious as other forms of sexual abuse, a series of informational studies have shown that marital rape has the greatest long-term effect on its victims. Shields and Hanneke (1983), in an interview study of 92 St. Louis women who were married to violent men, assessed the impact of marital rape on its victims and compared these women to battered wives who had not been abused sexually. Rape victims had more serious emotional and physiological reactions, they reported more psychosomatic symptoms, and they attempted suicide more often than their non-raped counterparts. Russell, too, found that not only did self-blame increase with the frequency of sexual abuse, but also that "it is clear that rape by one's husband leads to even worse consequences than 'only' being battered. In every comparison done, the raped and battered women demonstrated more extreme reactions than other beaten women who had not been raped." In terms of marital rape, as compared to other rapes, "52% of women raped by a husband and 52% of women raped by a relative...report that the rape(s) had great effect on their lives, as compared to 39% of women raped by a stranger, 33% of women raped by an authority figure, 25% by an acquaintance and 22% by a friend, date, or lover" (Russell, 1982).

Marital Rape Prevention and Intervention Strategies.

Marital rape is clearly an experience that is reflected in a woman's life long after the assault actually occurs. But what is the solution to the problem? The first step for many individuals is acknowledging that a rape has occurred. "Coming to see a marital assault as rape can be a very liberating process... sometimes because it legitimizes the sense of hurt and anger that a woman feels toward a husband who brutalized her, sometimes because it helps ease lingering feelings of guilt or blame....Once she labels it a rape, she sees that a wrong has been done that she did not deserve" (Finkelhor & Yllo, 1985). Even when the rape has been admitted, immediate solutions to the problem vary tremendously. Forty-two percent of the women interviewed by Russell stated that the sexual abuse by their husbands ended only after they (the wives) had left the marriage. In another 20% of the cases, the marriage ended either by the husband leaving or by mutual agreement on separation. Five percent of the husband-rapists died or killed themselves. Only 2% of the cases had been resolved by counseling. The rest of the women were either still living with the rapist or had ended the relationship in some other way.

Socially, a series of actions must be taken to abolish marital rape. We need to increase education, at the individual and societal level, about this very real problem. "A first step toward changing the marital climate [to reflect that a woman has a right to refuse her husband or lover] is to raise the level of awareness about marital rape so that wives can view their forced sex experiences as rape [and so that society acknowledges these assaults as legitimate wrongs]" (Finkelhor & Yllo, 1985). Warner has written a set of legal reforms that "can help prevent rape by changing attitudes about sex, aggression, women, and rape" (Warner, 1980). The gist of these reforms includes the following:

(1) redefining rape
  (a) as an assault
  (b) to include forced penetration (not just penile-vaginal intercourse)
  (c) to remove marital exclusion clauses
(2) removing sanctions on consensual sexual behavior by repealing laws that allow previous sexual activity or previous consent by the victim to be used by the perpetrator as defense for rape
(3) reexamining the penalties for rape and sexual assault
(4) establishing equal rights by eliminating sexism from existing laws
(5) reconsidering the burden of proof
  (a) to remove the presumption that women should resist "within reason"
  (b) to eliminate routine subjection of women to lie detector tests and/or psychiatric examination to test their "mental veracity"

Many lawmakers are hesitant to change existing rape statutes. Arguments against changes include the problems of enforcement and the charge that marital exemption clauses will undermine the family structure of this country. However, countries which have removed the exemption show little evidence that enforcement has altered family life at all. Some legislators contend that these changes would lead to fabricated stories by vindictive wives. However, Geis' (1978) research concluded that "evidence from countries and states where marital rape is a crime shows that very few frivolous complaints are being brought." Other lawmakers view marital rape revisions as trivial, uncalled for, or simply as crusades by radical feminists which should be brushed off or laughed at. In one such case, a Montana legislator circulated the following form during a campaign for marital rape law:

Due to a situation in Oregon in which a man is on trial for raping his wife, the following "consent form" is being furnished as a public service for Montana's males.

It is recommended that no sexual contact be made by Montana's males with their wives until this form has been filled out and signed.

Remember, tonight she may be willing, but tomorrow YOU MAY BE CHARGED WITH RAPE.

AGREEMENT

I,__________________, do hereby on this ______ day of_________,

(check one)____Beg
____Request
____Agree
____Grudgingly agree (please pull down my nightgown when you're through)

to have sexual relations with my husband between the hours of______ and ______.

____
(signed)

Public Service Form No. 61600

Legally, this form is but a one-time agreement, of course. Any sexual contact other than on the above date at the above time shall require a new agreement. Additional copies of this form can be obtained from Senator Pat Regan. Detach form on dotted line.

According to Geis, the ironic reality is simply that "the matter may be too close for personal comfort for the well-placed, married males who make up the vast majority of membership of American state legislatures. It may take only a little imagination for them to create a scenario in which, in their worst forebodings, they are cast as the protagonist in a Kafka-like performance." The ultimate irony is that the "sensitivity" of policymakers is doing more harm than good for the women who are still being raped—legally—within what should be, for all adults, the very model of an intimate and trusting relationship.

Conclusion

Because of the ambiguities created by situational and relationship factors, confounded by the prevalence of entrenched sex-role and rape myths, the phenomena of date and marital rape, as distinct from stranger rape, can be seen to have deeply rooted causes within our sociocultural framework. Much of what makes rape within a situation of trust the "hidden" form of rape, and keeps the rates of official reporting low, are cultural stigmas and psychological roadblocks. To prevent these types of rape from occurring, a restructuring of our views of women and their role in society is needed. Men need to be taught that women are their equals in all respects, especially in sexual relationships. There should be no confusion about the fact that when a woman says "no," she means "No."

One of the major reasons cited by rape offenders as the cause of their attacks is their frustration in expressing themselves emotionally (Queen's Bench Foundation, 1976). In a survey of high school students concerning sex education topics, males requested guidance in how to identify feelings and listed their inability to deal with relationships as a key issue (Sziron, 1988). Thus an important component in the prevention of date and marital rape is to teach men to feel comfortable with themselves as well as with the women with whom they interact.

At the institutional level, a number of reforms would help prevent date and marital rape. The first is a reworking of the legal system's response to acquaintance rape. Police department personnel must be taught how to respond to date and marital rape reports with sympathy and support for the complainant. Women must feel comfortable turning to the police for help, if these kinds of attacks are to be reported. The next area of concern is in how the judicial system handles all rape cases, but especially those in which the victim has some previously established relationship with her assailant. At the present time, many survivors refuse to press charges out of fear they will be demeaned or harassed by the judicial system. Rape survivors need to be treated with respect if they are to pursue prosecution of their attackers; a greater assurance of conviction in rape cases will hopefully create a greater deterrent.

A critical area of concern is the media and its portrayal of women. Many studies have linked pornography with sexual violence. Today, many advertisements border on and sometimes sink into the realm of pornography. The media often portray women either as objects or as subordinates to men. There are still too few positive female role models presented on television and in films. Although such factors may not directly lead to sexual assaults against women, they may reinforce these actions through implicit or even overt support of unequal relationships and violent sexual encounters between men and women.

A further institutional area which could use reform is the political system. At the present time, much of what is needed is legal reform. Yet because there are few women or feminist advocates in political power, much of what is needed is lacking. Furthermore, having more women in positions of power would almost certainly lead to an improved societal image of women.

Presently, many of these ideas are impeded from being fully realized by limited resources and lack of funding. Fortunately, in the last few years, the public has become more aware of rape as a violent crime with devastating psychological and emotional consequences. The number of crisis centers and resources available to survivors has increased, though still not at sufficient numbers to deal with the full scope of the epidemic. However, because of the increasing awareness of rape trauma syndrome and the other sequelae of rape, researchers are focusing their efforts more on means of prevention rather than treatment.

The work presented here serves merely to touch the tip of the iceberg with respect to the issues surrounding date and marital rape. Increased awareness of rape within intimate relationships indicates that as a society we may be closing in on the most critical issues: namely that the problem is so common, yet often concealed, ignored, and even condoned. While our research points to the need for broad societal changes in order to alleviate this epidemic, we believe that the process can begin at the community level. The interventions we have presented are both locally focused and cost efficient. However, many possibilities remain for large-scale prevention and intervention programs, which await such time as sufficient resources can be allocated towards a comprehensive solution for this national problem.

References

Aizenman, M., & Kelley, G. (1988). The incidence of violence and acquaintance rape in dating relationships among college men and women. *Journal of College Student Development*, *29*(4), 305-311.

Barden, J.C. (1981). Confronting the moral and legal issues of marital rape. *New York Times*, June 1, 1981.

Baron, L., & Straus, M.A. (1989). Four theories of rape in American society. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Belknap, J. (1989) The sexual victimization of unmarried women by nonrelative acquaintances. In M.A. Pirog-Good & J.E. Stets (Eds.), Violence in dating relationships: Emerging social issues, pp. 205-218. New York: Praeger.

Bourque, L. (1989). *Defining rape*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bridges, J.S. (1991). Perceptions of date and stranger rape: A difference in sex-role expectations and rape-supportive beliefs. *Sex Roles*, *24*, 291-307.

Bridges, J.S., & McGrail, C.A. (1989). Attributions of responsibility for date and stranger rape. *Sex Roles*, *21*, 273-286.

Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women and rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Burgess, A.W. (Ed.) (1988). *Rape and sexual assault II*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Burke, P.J., Stets, J.E., & Pirog-Good, M.A. (1988). Gender identity, self-esteem, and physical and sexual abuse in dating relationships. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *51*(3), 272-285.

Burt, M.R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *38*, 217-230.

Campbell, G. (1987). *Health, education, youth & community*. New York: The Falmer Press.

DeKeseredy, W.S. (1988). Woman abuse in dating relationships: The relevance of social support theory. *Journal of Family Violence*, *3*(1), 1-12.

Feild, H.S., & Bienen, L.B. (1980). *Jurors and rape: A study in psychology and law*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Co.

Feldman-Summers, S., & Ashworth, C.D. (1981). Factors related to intentions to report a rape. *Journal of Social Issues*, *37*(4), 53-70.

Fenstermaker, S. (1989). Acquaintance rape on campus: Responsibility and attributions of crime. In M.A. Pirog-Good & J.E. Stets (Eds.), *Violence in dating relationships: Emerging social issues*, pp. 257-272. New York: Praeger.

Finkelhor, D., & Yllo, K. (1980, August). *Forced sex in marriage: A preliminary report*. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Meetings, New York, New York.

Finkelhor, D., & Yllo, K. (1985). *License to rape*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Frieze, I.H. (1983). Investigating the causes and consequences of marital rape. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *8*(3).

Geis, G. (1978). Rape-in-marriage: Law and law reform in England, the United States and Sweden. *Adelaide Law Review*, *6*(2).

Goodchilds, J.D., Zellerman, G.L., Johnson, P.B., & Giarrusso, R. (1988). Adolescents and their perceptions of sexual interactions. In A.W. Burgess (Ed.), *Sexual assault II*, pp. 245-270. New York: Garland Publishing.

Grossman, R., & Sutherland, J. (Eds.) (1982). *Surviving sexual assault*. New York: Congdon & Weed.

Groth, A.N. (1979). *Men who rape: The psychology of the offender*. New York: Plenum Press.

Groth, A.N., & Gary, T. (1981). Marital rape. *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality*, *15*(3).

Gwartney-Gibbs, P., & Stockard, J. (1989). Courtship aggression and mixed-sex peer groups. In M.A. Pirog-Good & J.E. Stets (Eds.), *Violence in dating relationships: Emerging social issues*, pp. 185-204. New York: Praeger.

Johnson, J.D., & Jackson, L.A., Jr. (1988). Assessing the effects of factors that might underlie the differential perception of acquaintance and stranger rape. *Sex Roles*, *19*(1/2), 37-45.

Kanin, E.J. (1984). Date rape: Unofficial criminals and victims. *Victimology*, *9*(1), 95-108.

Koss, M.P. (1989). Hidden rape: Sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of students of higher education. In M.A. Pirog-Good & J.E. Stets (Eds.), *Violence in dating relationships: Emerging social issues*, pp. 145-168. New York: Praeger.

Koss, M.P. (1985). The hidden rape victim: Personality, attitudinal and situational characteristics. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *9*, 193-217.

Koss, M.P., Dinero, T.E., Seibel, C.A., & Cox, S.L. (1988). Stranger and acquaintance rape: Are there differences in the victim's experience. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *12*, 1-24.

Koss, M.P., & Gidycz, C.A. (1985). Sexual experiences survey: Reliability and validity. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *53*, 422-423.

Koss, M.P., Gidycz, C.A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *55*, 162-170.

Koss, M. P., & Harvey, M.R. (1991). *The rape victim: Clinical and community interventions*, 2nd edition. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Koss, M.P., & Oros, C.J. (1982). Sexual experiences survey: A research instrument investigating sexual aggression and victimization. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *50*, 455-457.

Krebill, J. & Taylor, J. (1987). *A teaching guide to preventing adolescent sexual abuse*. Santa Cruz, CA: ETR Publishers.

Largen, M.A. (1988). Rape-law reform: An analysis. In A.W. Burgess (Ed.), *Sexual assault II*, pp. 271-292. New York: Garland Publishing.

Lottes, I. (1988). Sexual socialization and attitudes toward rape. In A.W. Burgess (Ed.), *Sexual assault II*, pp. 193-220. New York: Garland Publishing.

Lundberg-Love, P., & Geffner, R. (1989). Date rape: prevalence, risk factors, and a proposed model. In M.A. Pirog-Good & J.E. Stets (Eds.), *Violence in dating relationships: Emerging social issues*, pp. 169-184. New York: Praeger.

Mid-Peninsula Rape Crisis Center. (1985). *Rape crisis training manual*. Palo Alto, CA.

Miller, B., & Marshall, J.C. (1987). Coercive sex on the university campus. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, *28*(1), 38-47.

Muehlenhard, C.L. (1988). Misinterpreted dating behaviors and the risk of date rape. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *6*(1), 20-37.

Muehlenhard, C.L., & Linton, M.A. (1987). Date rape and sexual aggression in dating situations: Incidence and risk factors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *34*(2), 186-196.

Myers, M.B., Templer, D.I., & Brown, R. (1984). Coping ability of women who become victims of rape. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*.

Neff, L. (1988). Acquaintance rape on campus: The problem, the victims, and prevention. *NASPA Journal*, *25*(3), 146-152.

Pagelow, M. D. (1984). *Family violence*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Pirog-Good, M.A., & Stets, J.E. (Eds.) (1989). *Violence in dating relationships: Emerging social issues*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Queen's Bench Foundation (1976). *Rape prevention and resistance*. San Francisco, CA.

Rabkin, J.G. (1979). The epidemiology of forcible rape. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *49*, 634-647.

Reiss, I.L. (1986). *Journey into sexuality: An exploratory voyage*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Russell, D. (1975). *The politics of rape*. New York: Stein and Day.

Russell, D. (1982). *Rape in marriage*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.

Russell, D. (1984). *Sexual exploitation*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Sanday, P.R. (1981). The socio-cultural context of rape: A cross-cultural study. *The Journal of Social Issues*, *37*, 5-27.

Schulman, J. (1980). The marital rape exemption in criminal court. *Clearinghouse Review*, *14*(6).

Schwendinger, J. R., & Schwendinger, H. (1983). *Rape and inequality*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Shields, N., & Hanneke, C.R. (1983). Battered wives' reactions to marital rape. In D. Finkelhor, R.J. Gelles, G.T. Hotaling, & M.A. Straus (Eds.), *The dark side of families: Current family violence research*, pp. 131-148. Beverly Hills: Sage Publishing Co.

Stanford Rape Education Project (1991). *Confronting rape: Sexual assault on campus*. Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA.

Sugarman, D.B., & Hotaling, G.T. (1989). Dating violence: Prevalence, context, and risk markers. In M.A. Pirog-Good & J.E. Stets (Eds.), *Violence in dating relationships: Emerging social issues*, pp. 3-32. New York: Praeger.

Szirom, T. (1988). *Teaching gender? Sex education and sexual stereotypes*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

Turner, R. D. (1990). Date rape. *Ebony*, (December 1990), 104-107.

US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (1991). Sourcebook of criminal justice statistics-1990. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office.

Warner, C.G. (Ed.) (1980). Rape and sexual assault: Management and intervention. Aspen Systems Corp.

Warshaw, R. (1988). I never called it rape. San Francisco: Harper and Row.

What's OK on a date? (1992). American Enterprise, 3, 102.

Weiner, J.. (1992). 'Rape by innuendo' at Swarthmore. The Nation, (Jan. 20, 1992), 44-47.

Yllo, K. (1981, July). Types of marital rape: Three case studies. Paper presented to the National Conference for Family Violence Researchers, Durham, NH.

Yllo, K., & Finkelhor, D. (1985). Marital rape. In A.W. Burgess (Ed.), Rape and sexual assault II. New York: Garland Publishing.

Yoshihama, M., Parekh, A.L., & Boyington, D. (1991). Dating violence in Asian/Pacific communities. In B. Levy (Ed.), Dating violence. Seattle: Seal Publishing.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DRAFT VERSION ONLY:

COMMENTS WELCOMED

Chapter 6

INTIMACY AND VIOLENCE:
ABUSE IN MARRIAGE, DATING, AND COHABITING

Linh Cao

Julie Kwon

Prudence Lam

Abstract

This paper examines the prevalence of physical abuse in marriage (including dating and cohabiting), the motivations of the perpetrators, and the effects upon the victims. A profile of batterers based upon research and theories that attempt to provide explanations for the abusers' behaviors are presented. We will identify characteristics of battered women and consider possible factors that prevent them from exiting abusive relationships. The typical evolution of the abusive relationship is detailed, and a pattern of the victim's gradual subordination to the abuser emerges. This pattern is reinforced by prevalent sociocultural stereotypes about male-female relationships. It becomes apparent that more social, economic, and legal resources must be made available to aid victims, who often feel that the system deprives them of hope. Intervention programs, which could be implemented within communities to alleviate spousal abuse, are proposed. We focus upon the resources available most immediately to victims--the police and the local shelters--and suggest means by which they could maximize their capacity to help the victims. We also consider how batterers may be assisted in overcoming their propensity for violent behavior.

Incidence of Wife Battery and Problems of Measurement

Researchers attempting to measure the prevalence of wife battery face a daunting task, as statistics are obscured in records from various sources, such as police stations, hospital emergency rooms, social service agencies, and the offices of mental health professionals. Study results may differ, depending upon how the terms abuse and battery are defined. They can both be applied to a spectrum of acts, ranging from incidents in which there may be no physical harm but the victim suffers verbal denigration or psychological and emotional abuse, to incidents of intentionally striking a family member and inflicting bodily injury. The batterer may escape detection because the assaults usually occur at night in the home, where there are no outside witnesses. In addition, violence is less likely to be reported in families from the middle or upper classes, who do not often come into contact with community agencies, and who are better able to afford the insulation of private services. Finally, there is a general societal norm of autonomy surrounding the family unit, which may deter friends, officers, physicians, or other sources of aid from intervening on behalf of the victim. Consequently, estimates of the number of wives who suffer abuse are probably lower than the actual rates of incidence.

As public awareness of the plight of battered women has risen, social scientists, despite the obstacles in collecting data, have undertaken to determine how widespread the problem is. Figures from various localized studies have demonstrated that domestic violence between partners accounted for 40%-60% of all reported assaults or disturbance calls to police (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, 1976; Morgan, 1982). When surveyed, 20% to 35% of women reported having been attacked by a partner (Frieze, 1980; Gelles, 1972;

Russell, 1982). In 1975, Straus and associates conducted the first epidemiological study to investigate the extent of the problem, when they questioned 2,143 married couples in a national survey. Their research instrument, the Conflict Tactics Scale, did not distinguish whether males or females initiated the abuse, but the results suggested that either partner was likely to perpetrate aggression. They found that 28% of couples reported at least one incident of physical assault in their relationship. Sixteen percent reported that violence had occurred in the year prior to the study, and, of these assaults, over one third involved serious acts such as punching, hitting with an object, kicking, and using a knife or gun (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). These results were reaffirmed in 1985 when Straus and Gelles (1988) conducted a follow-up survey which found that couples reported the same percentage of violent incidents had occurred during the year prior to the study. Extrapolating from these figures, one can estimate that at least a million and a half women are assaulted by their partners each year.

When discussing marital violence, discourse revolves primarily around battered wives. Steinmetz (1978) proposed that men are battered as often as women, claiming that there are 250,000 battered husbands in the United States. However, her estimates were based upon small, unrepresentative samples, and have been refuted by other researchers in the field (Dobash & Dobash, 1978; Fields & Kirchner, 1978; Frieze, 1979; Jaffee, 1980; Marquardt & Cox, 1979; Star, 1980). Upon examining the evidence, her critics found that husbands exceeded wives as perpetrators of the most serious categories of violence, such as "beat up spouse," "push down," "choke," or "used knife or gun." Also, the women who engaged in violent behavior were more likely to be acting in self-defense (Pleck, Pleck, Grossman, & Bart, 1978; Wolfgang, 1958). In a 1982 National Crime Survey (cited in Browne, 1987), women were victims in 91% of the crimes between spouses/ex-spouses. Dobash and Dobash (1979) reviewed research which showed that women were victims of family violence in 94% of 900 cases. Berke, Berke, Loseke, & Rauma (1983) found that, even when violence is mutual, in 95% of assaults between partners, women sustain more severe injuries.

Sociocultural Correlates of Male Perpetrators of Marital Violence

Two commonly cited findings from research appear to contradict each other: "Violence between family members can be found in all social classes" and "Family violence is more common in lower class families." A more discriminating depiction of the correlates between social class and family violence can be gained by examining separately social factors such as regional differences, race, education, and income. These factors were often overlooked in early studies due to the perception of family violence as a rare occurrence. Research of the 1960s and early 1970s was mainly based on cases that came almost exclusively from police or medical records, and their evidence supported the notion that marital violence occurred primarily among lower class people. Straus et al. (1980) have suggested that this is due to the fact that the police are more likely to detect family violence among the poor and disadvantaged, and to label it illegal.

The view of intrafamilial violence as a private matter also hampers research efforts. The typical locale of such incidents is in the home, during evenings or weekends, when only family members are present (Gelles, 1972). Whereas lower-class city dwellers may inhabit closely crowded tenements, the suburban middle class can usually afford the privacy of separate houses and larger lots. This insulation may protect them from detection of any illegal behavior. Upper-class spouses may be more willing to maintain a facade of harmony due to their fears of social embarrassment and a conviction that only mentally disturbed people could be violent toward loved ones (Straus et al., 1980). This perception is shaped by social stigmas and beliefs, reinforced by the media.

Regional Differences

With respect to geographical distribution, earlier research on violence in the United States indicated that some regions were more violent than others. For example, Gastil (1971) reported, based on homicide data, that Southerners from Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Virginia had a predisposition toward lethal violence. The South was also hypothesized to have a high potential for violence due to their higher rates of gun ownership. In a 1968 survey for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (Stark & McEvoy, 1970), it was reported that half of the respondents interviewed in the South owned firearms. In the East, at that time, the figure was two times lower. However, when Straus et al. (1980) conducted their national survey of 2,143 families, it was revealed that Southerners were not more prone to engage in domestic violence. Their unexpected finding was that there was very little variation between regions with regard to rates of marital violence, whereas homicide, assault, rape, and other forms of violence did occur with different frequencies based upon region.

Racial Factors

Different cultural expectations and values concerning violence, as well as relative lack of income and education, may account for the varying distribution rates of marital violence found among different racial and ethnic groups. Straus et al. (1980) found that minority racial groups were overrepresented as abusers compared to Anglo men. They concluded that these higher rates of violence among minority members resulted from the greater discrimination and frustration they endure, as they remain stymied in their attempts to attain the advantages offered by society to privileged groups. They also hypothesized that African Americans, Hispanics, and people from other cultures where the macho male is highly valued, have a higher prevalence of abuse because the image of machismo condones and encourages acts of physical and sexual aggression.

Educational Differences

One common view is that men who batter their partners have lower levels of education. To some extent, this view is supported by research. Most conjugal violence does occur in families where the husband's education is relatively low (Gelles, 1972). Survey results, however, challenge conventional beliefs of a too simple relationship between education and family violence. The least violent males were found at opposite poles: those who attended only the lower grades of school and those who were well-educated (i.e., some college). The most violent husbands and fathers were those who had either dropped out before completing high school or did not go on to college after graduation (Straus et al., 1980). From this, one may conclude that it is more stressful to have a moderate amount of schooling than to have a little or a lot. People who have not completed or continued their education much beyond high school have achieved an average American education, but they may be unable to attain higher status, well-paying professional jobs. This economic limitation may cause more stress for the moderately educated worker than for the poorly educated one (Straus et al., 1980).

Employment Status and Domestic Violence

Domestic violence occurs more frequently when the husband has a job of low or medium status (Gelles, 1972). It can be hypothesized that men working in low- or medium-status jobs may suffer stress as they compete both to keep their jobs and to advance. This struggle can lead to longer working hours and more strain, resulting in greater conflict and violence between spouses. Men who are employed only part-time or who are unemployed, however, are most likely to be violent at home. Unemployed men are twice as likely as men employed full-time to use severe violence on their wives, and men employed part-time have a rate of wife beating three times that of fully employed husbands (Straus et al., 1980).

Status of Husband vs. Wife in the Home

Gelles (1972) maintained that violence is also more common when the husband-provider is deficient relative to the wife in achievement characteristics such as education and occupational status. He argued that violence is deployed in the family as it is in society--by a superior status group (the husband) on an inferior group (the wife), when the legitimacy of the superior group's status has been questioned or threatened. In this respect, the perpetration of violence is an exercise of power serving to restore what is perceived to be the socially legitimized order. However, by contrast, his data on the differences between husbands and wives in ascribed characteristics such as age showed that there is less violence when the wife is older than the husband (Gelles, 1972).

Summary

To summarize, only a trend toward certain sociocultural characteristics in battering males has been identified. There is no prescription that can be used to predict who is or will be an abusive husband. In general, violence is more common in homes where males have little education, low income, among those who are unemployed or in menial, unskilled jobs, and where they are disadvantaged in status compared to their female partners.

Sociological Theories of Marital Violence

In brief, there are three main sociological approaches to explain spousal violence: structural, cultural, and resource. The structural theory argues that violence occurs in families of lower social status due to the greater frustration those individuals feel in a society which offers common goals, but blocks some groups from achievement of those goals (Merton, 1968).

The cultural theory follows the reasoning that marital violence is more likely to occur in families that have socialized norms and cultural values which endorse the use of force and coercion by men over women to obtain individual compliance. This explains why violence is more likely to occur in those cultures in which the macho male image is highly valued.

Finally, the resource theory is based upon the assumption that the greater one's resources (personal, social, and individual), the better one can cope with challenges and achieve goals in socially approved ways, and the less likely one needs to exert force in an overt manner. Thus people may turn to violent acts to offset deprivation of resources such as income or prestige, and to regain or attain power.

Psychological Correlates of Battering Men

A family history of having observed violence or being directly abused as a child is the most important psychological predictor of wife abuse (Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Straus et al., 1980). As social learning theory suggests, children learn from parent role models (Bandura, 1977). Even if abuse is verbally condemned, children may observe their parents in physical conflict and so learn that violence can be used to express frustration or to coerce others to comply with their wishes. They are then more likely to react in similar ways to their own frustrations and stressful interpersonal situations. Batterers often come from violent childhood homes where they had witnessed parental violence, usually their mothers being beaten by their fathers. (See Johnston, 1992, this volume, for statistics on intergenerational transmission of violence.)

Other psychological characteristics of battering males include low self-esteem and a tendency to be rigidly traditional, emotionally inexpressive, socially isolated, and alcohol dependent (Pagelow, 1984). Males who have low self-esteem tend to feel like "losers" who build dependency relationships with women who are perceived as desirable "winners." When these men feel they are losing control, they try to achieve a sense of superiority by dominating "their" women. Traditionalists are those men who believe in the patriarchal family, male supremacy, and the stereotyped masculine sex role. These beliefs all tend to emphasize the importance of men having control over women and therefore may make traditionalists more predisposed to abuse their wives.

An emotionally inexpressive person tends to repress fear, tenderness, and self-doubt. The primary emotions they can and do express are anger and jealousy. Batterers have been shown to be generally lacking in assertiveness, and people who do not know how to assert themselves are likely to resort to aggression (Pagelow, 1984). They tend to have difficulty in building and maintaining close, personal ties, and often isolate themselves socially. Their self-esteem may be further eroded by chronic employment problems (such as unemployment, underemployment, and job dissatisfaction). Batterers at all socioeconomic levels evidence a high degree of stress in interpersonal relationships.

Some studies (reviewed in Pagelow, 1984) have shown that batterers tend to have authoritarian personality traits. Such men characteristically hold beliefs that are conservative, rigid, and prejudiced, and which predispose them to control and dominate their wives through violence. The battering husband typically dictates all family decisions. Moodiness is another common trait of battering males, accounting for their mercurial tempers. They have low tolerance for frustration and stress, and tend to punch walls, to destroy or throw objects, and to hurt animals.

Characteristics of Battered Women

Battered women represent all races, socioeconomic status, ages, occupations, religions, and educational levels. They may live anywhere, from urban to suburban to isolated rural areas. However, Walker's (1979) study found some psychological characteristics they have in common. Among 403 subjects, about half had suffered physical abuse and sexual molestation by family members during childhood. Those who did not report having been abused as children often had fathers who pampered them and treated them like fragile dolls, thus reinforcing sex-role stereotypes that made them believe they were less competent and more dependent than their male counterparts. Battered women, in general, tend to have low self-esteem and doubt their own competence. They also have difficulties in integrating the responsibilities, behaviors, and self-images associated with their home and outside lives. Their home, work, and social lives remain exclusive of each other, and the amount of assertiveness and competence they demonstrate may alter within each sphere of activity. Like their battering husbands, they are more likely to hold traditionalist values about home, family unity, and the female's roles in the household, such as "keeper of the peace." Battered women are sometimes prevented from entering the job market by their controlling husbands, or if asked to resign from their jobs, they will either comply or be made to feel guilty for working. If employed, they are often expected to turn over all their earnings to their husbands. They may lose their jobs when their work is hampered by the husband's suspicious and controlling behaviors.

It is also common for the battered woman to accept responsibility for the batterer's actions and to believe that her behavior changes will induce him to change. Consequently, she may feel like a failure when the abuse continues despite her efforts to avoid or modulate the precipitous rise in her husband's stress levels which precede a violent incident. The tension of coping with chronic abuse is often associated with psychophysiological problems such as fatigue, backaches, headaches, insomnia, depression, anxiety, and paranoia. Sexual relations are sometimes used as a way of assuaging their own and their partner's neediness, and maintaining some semblance of love.

Pagelow (1984) listed several predictive factors that increase the probability of violence in an intimate or marital relationship. The first is dating violence, in which the couple continues their courtship even after a violent episode. Another is ignorance of the man's history of relationships with lovers, wives, or parents. Very young marriages or cohabitation after a brief courtship is a third risk factor, which is especially significant if premarital pregnancy precipitates and maintains the woman's dependency. The presence of stepchildren poses problems, especially when it is the woman's own children that are brought into the relationship, and they become dependent on the husband. An especially significant predictor is social isolation, which diminishes her close contacts with friends and relatives, leaving the woman with a lack of support systems. Finally, the woman's difficulty in functioning independently because of health, educational or occupational problems, language differences, or psychological dependence, all make her highly vulnerable to a power differential within which abuse is more likely to occur.

Some behavioral characteristics identified by Pagelow (1984) as indicating a woman may be in an abusive relationship are as follows: The woman withdraws from social activities regardless of how active she was before, breaks appointments without explanations, and all her activities at night include her spouse. She must obtain his permission to go out unescorted, and she is obliged to report to him constantly. He takes her to and from all places she needs to go, including work. She has no close friends, and others are quickly discouraged from visiting. She wears clothes and make-up that may conceal bruises and injuries, or she is incredibly "accident-prone" and frequently complains of physical ailments.

Racial and Ethnic Differences

One minority group on which some research has been conducted is the African-American community. Here, more so than in other studies of marital abuse, there are problems with underreporting because the negative stereotypes surrounding African-American men make them particularly vulnerable to criticism; i.e., African-American women are possibly "reluctant to expose them to more ridicule" (Asbury, 1987). It has been suggested that these women fear police will treat African-American males more punitively than white males--that they will use extreme police tactics such as beatings and arrests, even with minimum incriminating evidence (Peterson-Lewis, Turner, & Adams, 1988). Also, reported incidence rates are likely to be lower among this population because African-American women of all socioeconomic classes are much more likely to use informal sources of aid such as friends, neighbors, ministers, and relatives rather than formal sources such as social workers, counselors, police, and doctors (Lockhart & White, 1989).

In the Lockhart and White study, a sampling of 155 African-American women, evenly distributed among levels of socioeconomic status, were polled. The results showed that 36% were victims of violence, with 12% suffering from repeated violence; 28% of the women reported using violence against their partners. Lower-class women tended to report more conflicts, more violence resulting from these conflicts, and were more likely to seek outside help than were middle- and upper-class women. Perhaps this higher level of abuse occurs to the extent that lower-class African-American males tend to be more patriarchal in their decision-making patterns than their higher-class counterparts. Alternatively, the resource theory described earlier may explain their use of violence to reinforce their dominance (Lockhart & White, 1989). Although fewer upper-class African-American women report abuse, the frequency of their abuse is approximately twice as high as that of their white counterparts. Middle-class African-American women also report relatively more incidents of violence compared to whites.

The adjustments in the male/female power structure that occur as African-American women move up in socioeconomic status and towards greater economic independence may make men defensive and compelled to exert their power over women. There are suggestions that African-American parents are likely to expect their daughters, more than their sons, to excel in school and to stay off the streets. To the extent that African-American females attain a higher educational level than their male counterparts, this inequality in status can also lead to greater marital conflict (Peterson-Lewis et al., 1988). It has also been proposed that many African-American women are reluctant to leave their partners because of the scarcity of "good," eligible African-American men (Asbury, 1987).

While there is a regrettable lack of information on the abuse of Asian-American women, the present authors have formed some general impressions from informally interviewing other Asian women as well as from their own family experiences. There are lower rates of violence being reported in Asian communities, which is perhaps due to lack of awareness or reluctance to acknowledge marital abuse. Traditional Asian women may perceive violence as a fact of life and not as anything extraordinary that needs to be reported. Their familial loyalty and general reserve make them reluctant to expose their homes and husbands to public scrutiny, especially to formal sources of assistance. Furthermore, language barriers may limit her alternatives in seeking help or moving into an independent life.

Asian-American women, particularly immigrants, suffer abuse primarily because their patriarchal traditions condone it. Also, the emerging "Americanized" Asian-American woman, who is trying to break free from the bonds of tradition and stereotypes, is vulnerable to being abused because she is seen as a threat to her immediate and extended family, as one who needs to be "kept in her place." Many of these women cannot leave a dangerously abusive marital situation because of the great traditional emphasis on keeping the family intact and on female submission to male dominance. Also, there exists a prohibitive sociocultural stigma attached to divorce. Even if she wants to leave an abusive relationship, her extended family is likely to exert strong pressure on her to remain in the marriage. Some women who attempt to return home to their families of origin for shelter and refuge are sent back to their husbands with advice (or orders) to be more compliant and less antagonistic, to do whatever it takes to make the relationship a success because, after all, the abuser is her "husband for life."

High-Risk Groups

Two groups of women are in particular danger of excessive or easily rationalized abuse: those whose husbands are in the military and those who are under the influence of strong fundamentalist religious beliefs.

In one study (Eisenberg & Micklow, 1974), 90% of the wife batterers were, or had been, in the military. Possible explanations are (1) that violent personalities self-select into the military, or (2) that the effect of learning and normalizing military violence generalizes to marital abuse (Shupe, Stacey, & Hazlewood, 1987). Martin (1976) found a correlation between the military as a "school for violence" and subsequent battering behavior in males. The authoritarian and restrictive life of a soldier tends to generalize to his home life, especially since he is expected to control his family and be responsible for their conduct (Shupe et al., 1987). Masculine aggressiveness is a prized and cultivated trait throughout our society. Although civilian men tend to stop short of committing acts that would permanently injure, maim, or kill their partners, soldiers have less restraint: "...the worst of the civilian cases were the norm for the military cases..." (Shupe et al., 1987). Military wives, especially those who live on base, have a limited choice in reporting since spousal abuse programs and services are usually in health clinics and medical facilities on base. These facilities typically have mandatory reporting protocols that render the reports nonconfidential (Pagelow, 1984). Consequently, these women are reluctant to seek help, knowing that their actions will harm their husbands' careers. Statistics on this population show that almost all known marital abuse occurs in the lowest ranks of enlisted men. However, one must keep in mind that officers' wives have greater reason to conceal, in order to protect their husbands careers, and their own status as well (Shupe et al., 1987).

A woman who embraces traditional religious convictions may use them as reasons to stay with an abuser, and her husband may also play upon them as a source of rationalization for physical punishment. Such women will struggle to keep the family together at all costs, for separation or divorce are almost unthinkable, especially among conservative fundamentalists and traditional Catholics (Pagelow, 1984). For some women, belief in a watchful deity helps them endure their sufferings with some degree of solace. Attending religious services may be one of their few safe outside contacts (Walker, 1979). Religious advisors and institutions will usually help a battered woman and offer her refuge during the crisis. Unfortunately, they may also send her home afterwards to pray for guidance to become a better woman and to help her husband "become more spiritual and find the Lord" (Pagelow, 1984; Walker, 1979). However, recently, churches have begun to establish safe houses which try to resolve the dilemma of upholding the religious value of keeping the family intact and knowing when to help a woman separate from a hopelessly violent mate (Pagelow, 1984).

Men who manipulate their wives with religious rationale will quote from the Bible to justify their sexism and spousal abuse, claiming patriarchal authority according to "God's will" (Shupe et al., 1987). For instance, if a woman fails in her domestic responsibilities, this may be considered grounds for a beating. However, religious values and a supportive church community that confronts and condemns domestic abuse among its members can offer a positive healing process through services, fellowship, prayer, programs, and Bible studies. One must remember, though, that this effort usually only succeeds if the man also voluntarily attends and participates in the church programs (Shupe et al., 1987).

The Violent Couple Relationship

Research on the dynamics of the violent couple relationship is in its infancy. What exists are mostly phenomenological accounts of relatively small numbers of often severely battered women who have self-selected into research studies (e.g. Browne, 1987; Walker, 1984). The battering male has rarely been interviewed in these studies. These researchers, who usually employ a feminist perspective, have described the progression of violence over time and the repeated "cycle of violence" that characterizes the couple's relationship. As will be shown in a following section, the psychological characteristics of the abused woman are viewed from this perspective as a form of "learned helplessness," and are the result of being battered rather than evidence of prior pathology within the woman. This is referred to as the "battered woman's syndrome," which is a special case of post-traumatic stress syndrome.

It is unknown to what extent the "cycle of violence" and the "battered woman's syndrome" adequately describe the patterns of violence in marriages, intimate dating, and cohabiting relationships in general. The findings from large scale surveys (e.g. Straus et al., 1980) have been somewhat puzzling because they indicate a wide range of violence in intact marriages and suggest that women and men are about equally likely to perpetrate aggression. This is in contrast to findings from smaller, qualitative studies (e.g. Walker, 1984), which suggest that females are largely passive victims of male aggression that has its origins in the socialization of the man and not in the marital relationship or in the psychological makeup of the woman.

A recent preliminary descriptive study of a total sample of 160 high conflict divorcing families (Johnston & Campbell, 1992) indicates that the classic battering situation may account for a relatively small proportion of the violence in high conflict couples who subsequently divorce. Several other profiles of violence were identified in this sample, namely female-initiated violence, male-controlling interactive abuse, separation-engendered (stress-specific) violent reactions, and psychotic/paranoid violent reactions. A typology of violence developed by Hanks (1992) from therapeutic work with violent families closely resembles the one developed independently by Johnston and Campbell.

Systematic study of the interactions between physically violent, verbally abusive, and nonconflictual control couples in laboratory situations and in the home is a promising approach to understanding the dynamics of abuse. However, it is also a relatively recent development (Gottman & Krokoff, 1989; Margolin, John, & Burman, 1989; Margolin, John, & Gleberman, 1988).

Violence in Dating Relationships.

There are a growing number of studies on the frequency and patterns of physical and sexual abuse within dating relationships which suggest that the origins of these dysfunctional male-female relations may begin during courtship. Sugarman and Hotaling (1989) have provided a general definition of dating as "a dyadic interaction that focuses on participation in mutually rewarding activities that may increase the likelihood of future interaction, emotional commitment, and/or sexual intimacy." From this follows their definition of dating violence as "the perpetration or the threat of an act of physical violence by one member of an unmarried dyad on the other within the context of the dating process." Researchers such as DeMaris (1987) and Thompson (1986) have employed the framework of marital violence to investigate dating violence. Laner and Thompson (1982) pointed out similar characteristics of both marital and serious dating relationships, in contrast to other dyads: (1) a greater degree of mutual interaction in terms of time spent together, range of activities they share, and depth of involvement; (2) greater exchange of personal information; (3) greater assumed right to influence the partner; and (4) increased possibility of conflict due to the pressures of role negotiation and responsibilities, and of coping with environmental stresses.

Mild forms of physical abuse, such as shoving, slapping, and grabbing occur more often in dating relationships than do beatings or attacks with weapons (Cate et al., 1982; Henton et al., 1983; Makepeace, 1981; Roscoe & Benaske, 1985). Researchers' findings have indicated that anywhere from 20%-50% of their samples (usually high school or college students) had experienced violence in their dating relationships (Bernard & Bernard, 1983; Lane & Gwartney-Gibbs, 1985; Makepeace, 1981; McKinney, 1986; Murphy, 1984; O'Keefe, Brockopp, & Chew, 1986; Sack, Keller, & Howard, 1984). Makepeace (1983) and Lane and Gwartney-Gibbs (1985) found that males were two to four times more likely than females to have used severe violence against dating partners, and Makepeace (1984) found that 53% of females compared to 18% of males sustained injuries inflicted by partners. Roscoe & Benaske (1985) found that among those who experienced violence in a relationship, the mean number of such incidents was 9.6. This indicates that once violence occurs, it is likely to happen again. In addition, research suggests that 20%-50% of women have experienced sexual coercion while dating (Kanin & Parcell, 1977; Korman & Leslie, 1982; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Koss & Oros, 1982), and 15%-25% of men have reported employing forceful attempts at intercourse (Kanin, 1967; Rapaport &

Burkhart, 1984; Wilson, Faison, & Britton, 1983). The discrepancy between the percentages reported by men and by women suggests that men underreport their sexual aggression. (A full discussion of date rape will be found in a separate paper in this volume.)

Like marital violence, dating violence occurs primarily on weekends (Olday & Wesley, 1983) and in private settings, such as the residence of one of the partners or their parents, followed in frequency by vehicles, and outdoor settings (Makepeace, 1981; Olday & Wesley, 1983 [cited in Stets & Perog-Good, 1989]; Roscoe & Benaske, 1985; Roscoe & Kelsey, 1986). Laner (1983) and Roscoe and Kelsey (1986) judged that between 70%-93% of violent incidents occurred without third parties as witnesses. Laner (1983) found that when the violence was displayed in public, others intervened less than half the time.

Follingstad et al. (1988) found that women who remained in relationships characterized by ongoing violence were more likely to have experienced and to submit to male control, in general, including the specific domain of physical force. They also found that attitudinal predictors were related to onset of the first violent incident. Earlier onset was related to greater adherence to a belief in traditional sex-role attitudes and romantic love, enjoyment of playful physical dominance, and justification of abuse, as well as to reporting a stronger commitment and feeling of love toward the dating partner. These are characteristics which may later contribute to a violent marital relationship.

Makepeace (1981) conducted a nationwide study of courtship violence which drew responses from 2,650 subjects. He found violence to be more common and severe among first-date and cohabiting couples, and less so among either casual or steadily dating couples. Makepeace (1989) explained these results after distinguishing two types of courtship violence, which he has labeled "predatory" and "relational." According to this researcher, a predominance of emotionally and physically dangerous predatory violence is found in budding relationships, especially first dates. These incidents usually include sexual exploitation and result in rapid break-up. The victims often simply end the relationship without reporting the violence to authorities, and so the assailant does not suffer any punishment and is free to continue this behavior.

As a couple progresses to the stages of casual and steady dating, they may become increasingly conscious of issues concerning the status of their relationship. They have not yet made serious commitments to each other, and the violence at these stages tends to be less dangerous; it prompts termination of the relationship more often than it would in more committed relationships. "Relational" violence usually appears when the couple is engaged or living together, and fights are triggered by relationship issues, such as rejection or jealousy. At this stage, it is more difficult to exit the relationship because of the couple's considerable investment in their union, including the high level of public commitment they have made and repeatedly affirmed to each other. Thus they must confront each other, and their attempts to resolve problems may lead to violence.

Research which investigates whether dating violence actually leads to marital violence is sparse and inadequate. Roscoe and Benaske (1985) surveyed 82 battered wives at a shelter, and 51% of them reported physical abuse in a dating relationship. This percentage is high, but these figures do not provide reliable evidence of a correlation between dating and subsequent marital violence. The sample was small, researchers did not survey a control group of nonbattered women, and it is unclear whether they excluded courtships with the men these women eventually married. However, lower family income, poorer academic performance, faith in traditional sex-roles, inexpressiveness, and greater levels of stress are factors related to greater prevalence of dating violence (Bernard et al., 1983; DeMaris, 1987; Lane & Gwartney-Gibbs, 1985; Makepeace, 1983, 1987; Marshall & Rose 1987; Plass & Gessner, 1983; Sigelman et al., 1984; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1989b). These are the same kinds of risk indicators associated with spousal abuse.

After a violent episode in the dating relationship, the most commonly reported response among victims was anger, followed by fear and surprise (Henton et al., 1983; Matthews, 1984). The majority of both victims and offenders, regardless of sex, reported some consequent emotional trauma, but major emotional trauma was three times more common among women than among men (Makepeace, 1986). Dating partners rarely ventured beyond their immediate social support systems to seek professional help afterward, but a majority talked to friends, who were adopted as confidants more often than were family members (Henton et al., 1983; Roscoe & Benaske, 1985; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1989). Stets and Pirog-Good (1989a) found that 47.9% of the women compared to 21.6% of the men in their study told friends about purely physical abuse. Among those who sustained only sexual abuse, 32.7% of the women and 28.6% of the men reported the incidents to friends, and they sought help from formal sources of aid (i.e. physicians, counselors, criminal justice authorities). Those who sustained both types of abuse were most likely to turn to friends for advice, but whenever sexuality was involved, victims were less likely to tell their parents.

Progression of a Battering Relationship

The following describes the progression of a couple relationship that is characterized as prototypical of that between a battering male and his battered wife. The dating stage of a couple's violent relationship may be completely free of physical violence. If incidents do occur, the victim's shock and disbelief lead naturally to denial or to rationalization that excuses the abuser. These women find it difficult to tolerate the discrepancy between the loving sentiments their partners express, and the sudden brutality revealed by the attacks. Typically, the suitors are charming and attentive during the courting period, and as the couple becomes increasingly committed, they begin sacrificing their other social ties to be with each other. The man often exhibits sexual jealousy, which is perceived by the woman as confirmation of his love and commitment. As his possessiveness grows, he assumes the right to monopolize the woman's time and external relations, thus isolating her.

Often, violence is not evidenced until after the couple are married. Dobash and Dobash (1979) conducted in-depth interviews with 109 abused women, and only 23% of them had experienced violence before the marriage. Eisenberg and Micklow (1974) found that 90% of their sample experienced violence within the first year of marriage. The marriage license has been referred to as a "hitting license," by which marital violence is legally established and condoned. Recently, however, Stets and Straus conducted a large study investigating violence among dating, cohabiting, and married couples. Their results did not support the theory that assaults are more common among married partners. Instead, their evidence indicated that "the highest rate of assault is among the cohabiting couples [and] violence is most severe in cohabiting couples" (Stets & Straus, 1989). They hypothesized that dating or married couples are protected by their kin, who help to monitor violent behavior, whereas cohabiting couples are more likely to be distanced from their family networks. Also, those who choose cohabitation may be avoiding marriage in order to retain their independence. In such situations, increased frequency of arguments about obligations, rights, and duties may culminate in violence.

The origins of the perception of the marriage license as a "hitting license" may lie in early English common law, which decreed that: "By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law....The very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection, and cover she performs everything" (Weitzman, 1974, p.1170). Such conditions of the marital union have perpetuated the view of wives as dependents or property. Adherence to such archaic values may reinforce the abusive husband's conviction that he is justified in beating his wife, whom he sees as being a virtual non-entity in her own right. Even today, among some cultural groups, a wife is identified with her mate when she takes his name, and he is considered the legally entitled head of the household. Housework is a duty performed without compensation, and in many regions, the husband has exclusive authority over community property, which may include his wife's income. According to Weitzman, formerly, marriage and divorce laws tended to "favor structure, stability and security to the exclusion of flexibility, change and individual freedom" (1974, p.1277). They defined the tradition-bound roles of authoritarian husband and submissive wife, which represent power differentials prone to conflict and the violent abuse of that power.

In these marriages, the wife's wishes do not match her husband's expectations, as he constricts her social world to the sphere of the home. She is seldom allowed to maintain her own former friendships or to accompany him when he resumes going out regularly with his friends. He must approve any social activity she wishes to engage in, but she cannot question his use of leisure time, for he would label that "nagging." The first act of violence in the marriage may be perpetrated when the wife asserts herself or acts upon a personal decision contrary to her husband's will. Commonly, this initial act consists of a single blow, which may not physically injure the woman, but assails both partners with feelings of surprise, shock, shame, and guilt. It may not be recognized as the commencement of a pattern, and is usually regarded as an aberration. The woman is receptive to the man's pleas for forgiveness, when he promises it will never happen again.

As violent acts recur, the sources of conflict may include jealousy, housekeeping, child rearing, expenditure of money, or any sundry negotiation of daily life. These husbands rage at their wives when they feel their immediate needs have not been met, and the violence is not always preceded by a verbal confrontation or warning. A Jekyll/Hyde syndrome emerges as battered wives recount how alcohol may be the trigger which transforms their husbands into monsters or bullies. Men likewise often blame their violence upon their intoxication, which "excuses" them from responsibility. However, as Pizzey (1974) wrote, "Some of the men who batter are alcoholics, but stopping them from drinking doesn't stop the violence. Anything can release the trigger of violence in a batterer. It can be alcohol, a child crying, a bad day on the horses."

Walker (1979) described a definite cycle of battery which characterizes abusive relationships. The phases of the cycle vary in length and intensity, both among and within couples. During phase one, the tension-building stage, minor battering incidents occur which force the victim to enact coping mechanisms. She may become nurturing and compliant, or may attempt to predict her partner's every desire. She strives to control situations in order to prevent the escalation of his hostility, and rationalizes his behavior by convincing herself she deserves the abuse, or by blaming external circumstances. Residual tension from each minor battering incident accumulates as they become more frequent, psychologically exhausting the woman.

As the husband stifles her with his demands and tempered violence, the tension becomes intolerable and, inevitably, an acute battering incident occurs. This marks the entrance to phase two, characterized by the unbridled release of tensions from phase one. The acute battering incident is unpredictable, uncontrolled, and majorly destructive as the man's rage incapacitates his judgment. He is now utterly incapable of regulating his battering behavior or of stopping when severe harm is inflicted, whereas in phase one, he could dole out the measure of punishment he felt was justified. Walker wrote, "The trigger for moving into phase two is rarely the battered woman's behavior; rather, it is usually an external event or the internal state of the man" (1979, p.60). Thus, as the wife anticipates the beating with dread, her stress may be evidenced by various psychosomatic symptoms. She cannot foresee what will begin this phase, and only the batterer can end it. She knows that resistance will only prolong or intensify the abuse, and "she does not feel the pain as much as she feels psychologically trapped and unable to flee the situation" (p. 62). Davidson (1978) reviewed the responses of battered wives, who were asked how they felt during and after the beatings. The most frequent answer, given by one quarter of the women, was "I don't know," followed by "degraded." Some felt they had not deserved the beating, while others internalized negative feelings of "anger, guilt, frustration, and hate."

When the acute attack is over, battered women tend to stay isolated for at least 24 hours, feeling depressed, listless, and helpless. They may wait several days to seek medical attention, even when they suffer from fractures and broken bones. The couple then enters phase three, characterized by the batterer's loving, apologetic, contrite behavior. Calm prevails during this period, welcomed by both partners, and the husband's vows never to beat his wife again may be accompanied by gifts and frequent calls, or visits to the hospital where she is recovering from her injuries. He preys upon her guilt, begging her not to divide the family, reminding her of her marriage vows, reminding her of the children's need for a father. The battered woman may also feel that the man would be destroyed by her exit from his life. She can be swayed because she desperately wants to believe that the violence will end, and this phase offers her hope and reinforcement for remaining in the relationship. This is the period when the symbiotic bonding of the couple occurs. She views the man's kindness at this time as proof of his actual nature and his capacity to change. Inexorably, however, this phase cycles back to phase one.

Martin (1976) described a circle of logic which battered wives may employ to justify the abuse. A woman who has been socialized to believe that she must fulfill a nurturing role may feel that she must care for another person in order to be complete. She views the violence as an illness, and so, the more abusive he is, the sicker he must be, and the more he must need her. When he disregards her methods of pacifying him and expresses his illness through battery, her sense of responsibility for his well-being is reinforced and she accepts blame for the consequences of his abuse.

The batterer fosters his partner's dependency and loss of personal autonomy, and in limiting his victim's environment, he comes to dominate her world. The woman is kept enclosed in social isolation so that she remains unaware of alternatives, and her sense of reality becomes distorted. She may not recognize the unhealthy abnormality of the relationship she is trapped in. She lives in constant stress, anticipating the random flare of temper that will result in psychological and physical pain. She may withdraw voluntarily from external social contacts to avoid having to excuse the abusive mate's behaviors, or to avoid jealous accusations. The couple spends more time alone together, and the increase in shared time leads naturally to an increase in beatings. Not permitted to make independent adult choices or decisions, the woman must rely upon childish methods such as wheedling or begging to obtain her goals.

The victim is powerless, and when this pattern remains unbroken, it produces a syndrome which Seligman (1976) termed, "learned helplessness," described by both Walker (1979) and Morgan (1982). Seligman discovered that dogs would abandon escape attempts if they were locked in cages and randomly shocked. The dogs learned that none of their efforts would free them or stop the shocks, and so they would not leave their cages even when the doors were left open. Seligman wrote:

> These uncontrolled events can significantly debilitate men and animals. They can produce passivity in the face of trauma, inability to learn that responding is effective, and emotional stress and depression. In short, exposure to uncontrollable events produces a reaction that can be characterized as helplessness. (1976, p.2)

The repeated traumas suffered by battered women may eliminate the motivation to respond in situations where they feel they utterly lack control and have no escape. The trigger of abuse usually lies within the men, or in external events, neither of which these women can influence, and so they become passive and accept the circumstances they feel they cannot alter. Their helplessness becomes generalized, and they may not recognize opportunities to flee when they do appear.

Why Women Stay with Their Abusers

The two most important reasons why women stay with the men who abuse them are fear and love (Girshick, 1992). Fear is the most commonly given reason after the secondary battering stage (78%). Martin (1976) wrote of battered women: "Fear immobilizes them, ruling their actions, their decisions, their very lives." This may be fear of violent retaliation against themselves and those who try to help them; it may be fear for their children's safety or of losing their children when their husbands threaten to kill or take their children away from them (Pagelow, 1984). There is also the fear of being lonely and alone, of not being able to find someone else with whom they could form an emotionally rewarding relationship. Some women think they would prefer being married to a batterer to living alone. Once they do leave, however, most report that the occasional loneliness of living alone is better than the constant loneliness of living in a battering relationship (Walker, 1979). An abused woman also worries that if she leaves, her husband will not be able to take care of himself, especially in cases involving alcohol and drug dependency. Love for the batterer is also an important factor in keeping the woman with her partner. Simply put, she loves him and does not want to leave him.

The theory of learned helplessness may also explain why women stay, when they feel trapped and helpless and are certain that nothing they do will stem the violence. As an offshoot of learned helplessness, the Stockholm syndrome may develop. In this condition, the woman is in a state of complete helplessness and confinement in which everything she needs and wants depends on the whims of her abuser. Consequently, even the slightest favor or abatement of abuse is seen as a "gift" from her mate, and the woman responds with gratitude. She translates her feelings of relief into attraction to or love for the abuser, which works as an intermittent reinforcement for remaining (Pagelow, 1984).

After the first battering incident, about half of the women give hope as their reason for returning (Pagelow, 1984). Their hopes flower when their abuser approaches them, sincerely contrite and repentant after the first violent eruption. A woman may also become desensitized to the abuse, which then becomes bearable and accepted as normal (Pagelow, 1984). She may underestimate the severity of the abuse and her consequent injuries (Ferraro & Johnson, 1983). A lack of resources and alternatives may limit the woman and force her to stay. She is dependent on her husband for emotional support when he is not being abusive, and she lacks freedom of movement when her husband controls all her means of transportation. He further curtails her freedom by limiting her activities and discouraging visits. A battered woman often lacks economic independence because her husband controls the family's finances so that she has no cash, checks, or credit cards. Even if she considers leaving, she may lack the education and marketable skills necessary for finding a job. Compounding this factor is the drastic drop her standard of living will undergo even if she finds employment, because women in general have a much lower earning power than men (Pagelow, 1984).

Religious ideologies such as those described previously section may cause a woman to remain in an abusive relationship. A woman may rank the sanctity of legal and religious bonds of matrimony above her personal worth. She may believe the sufferings she now endures will result in vast rewards in the afterlife (Ferraro & Johnson, 1983). Traditional beliefs that women are inferior to men and that a woman's role as a good wife is to be subservient, supportive, encouraging, and loyal may also prevent her from leaving (Pagelow, 1984). Along the same lines, some women stay in order to keep the family together for the sake of the children. Mothers may believe that an intact home is better than a single-parent one and that only with the help of a man will they be able to raise their children without deprivation. What they do not realize is that children are harmed more by the environment of an abusive home with both parents than by a non-abusive home with one parent. Mothers usually do not leave until they recognize that their children are also victims of the violence, but even then they are unaware of this damage unless it is obvious physical abuse.

Attributional processes can determine whether or not individuals terminate an abusive relationship: the victim is more likely to stay if she perceives her abuser's behavior as something external, uncontrollable, or transitory, and she is more likely to leave if she sees it as an internal, stable characteristic (Peterson-Lewis et al., 1988). An abused woman tends to perceive her husband as a victim of societal stresses. She feels that his behavior is an expression of these frustrations and aggressions, and that his violence does not stem from a negative attitude towards her personally (Ferraro & Johnson, 1983). Also, as media portrayals tend to reinforce external and societal causes of male violence, many women are swayed into remaining in an abusive relationship.

Many women do eventually decide that they can no longer simply wait for the situation to resolve happily. They realize that they must take control and do something, whether it be using the law, seeking counseling, or simply escaping. Some battered women fight back by threatening their husbands with violence or desertion, by actually reciprocating the violence, or even by killing their husbands (Browne, 1987). Sometimes a woman's threats are successful and the violence stops, but too often she ends up seriously injured or dead. Others, who have been driven to lethal reprisals, are imprisoned because their self-defense or temporary insanity pleas fail in a court of law. Many women simply await their own death or some other fantasied release. In Pagelow's study (1984), almost half of the women reported that they had considered suicide, and 23% attempted it at least once.

Intervention Programs for Battered Women

We have chosen to focus upon police departments and women's shelters as targets for intervention programs because these are sources of aid that battered women will most often turn to immediately. Yet, due to lack of knowledge, organization, or material resources, such agencies are often inadequately equipped to protect and guide these women. Our suggestions are based upon our perceptions of flaws in existing systems as well as an examination of successful programs that provide innovative approaches to the problems. We also advocate programs which are directed at the batterers, who have been overlooked in the past when most of the attention was centered upon the victims. Abusive spouses should be treated to resolve the problem at its source, if possible.

Response of Police and the Legal System

Many women do not call the police following a violent episode because they have learned that the police will concentrate on quieting the batterer and that, as soon as the police leave, the battering will resume. Often a woman will call the police and then side with her batterer, minimizing the assault in a ploy to show her loyalty to him. As a result, police tend to become discouraged in their attempts to provide protection. Furthermore, police departments receive an overwhelmingly large number of domestic violence calls, and 40% of all police injuries and 25% of all police fatalities are incurred during response to these calls. Police officers rate domestic violence calls as personally dangerous and are more willing to respond assertively to those in which the victim seems to be in imminent danger (Walker, 1979).

If the battered victim's first attempt to enlist aid from an outside source is a panicked call to the police, her subsequent encounter with the legal system may be disappointing, because of the prevailing belief in legal circles that domestic disputes are personal problems best left to the participants to settle. Too often, responding officers adopt a mediatory role, instead of ensuring that the offender is punished. In Oakland, California, the police department's current non-arrest policy was stated specifically in its 1975 "Training Bulletin on Techniques of Dispute Interventiton," which states:

> The police role in a dispute situation is more often that of a mediator and peacemaker than enforcer of the law....When no serious crime has been committed but one of the parties demands arrest, you should attempt to explain the ramifications of such action (e.g., loss of wages, bail procedures, court appearances) and encourage the parties to reason with each other.

This perspective is echoed in many law enforcement manuals (e.g. those of the Detroit Police Department and the International Association of Police Chiefs). Even where these policies have been officially modified, the reluctance to take action persists.

In order to gain the trust of the community which depends upon them for protection, officers must surrender the belief that domestic violence is strictly a private matter which they have little obligation to prevent or stop. Better training programs need to be implemented, designed to sensitize police personnel to the nature and gravity of spousal abuse. These programs could be organized and taught by representatives of community agencies, who would forge and reinforce links between the police and community resources. They could also inform the officers what shelters, organizations, or other services are available in the area, so that police could provide referrals when necessary.

During the past decade, there has been a rapid increase across the states in legislation to protect women from violent relationships. These actions have been spurred by the political pressure and lobbying efforts of grass roots organizations (e.g. Battered Women's Coalitions), women's shelters, and gender bias task forces which have investigated sexual discrimination within the legal system in many states. The National Clearing House on Women and Family Law (located in New York City) provides an exchange of information on developing policies and programs between states and communities nationwide. Interdisciplinary task forces made up of attorneys, judges, police, mediators, and advocates for battered women have begun to work together to produce legal guidelines and procedures for responding more adequately to the problem (e.g. Lemon, 1990).

Virtually all states have some type of temporary restraining orders (TROs) which may be granted without first filing for divorce. These restraining orders or temporary injunctions prohibit the abuser from making personal contact with his victim (Pagelow, 1984). Violating these orders could result in a charge of contempt of court and a monetary fine and/or up to a year in jail (Walker, 1979). Over 80% of the women in Walker's (1979) study felt that most batterers respect the explicit warning conveyed by TROs, making them the second most effective form of legal protection, second only to immediate arrest and prosecution.

States differ with respect to their arrest policies and laws. In California, officers are authorized to make arrests when they have "reasonable belief" or "probable cause" to think that a felony has occurred. This is a decision left to the subjective judgment of the responding officer, allowing for the possibility of ready dismissal. The deterrent effect of mandatory arrest for domestic assault has been recently studied. In a field experiment, police officers were told to respond to domestic assault calls in one of three ways, each randomly assigned: (1) by arresting the alleged perpetrator; (2) by giving advice/mediating the dispute; or (3) by ordering the suspect to leave the home for eight hours. Six months later, it was found that official recidivism was significantly less among those arrested than those ordered to leave. These positive effects were confirmed by victims, who reported fewer repeated incidents of violence by partners who had been arrested compared to those had been let off with advice (Sherman & Berk, 1984). Subsequent inquiry by these researchers revealed that the deterrent effect seemed to be especially effective for batterers the police would ordinarily be inclined to arrest, e.g. offenders who have prior convictions on their records. The researchers hypothesized that these offenders had "higher probabilities of further formal sanctions: time in jail, stiff bail requirements, prosecution, and perhaps even conviction and a prison term." The earlier findings were confirmed, as they reported:

> Among those with propensity scores over .70, the probability of failure [to deter] for those not arrested is about .65. This probability drops to about .25 for those who are arrested. Moreover, this high propensity group represents about a quarter of the sample, not an aberrant fringe (Berk & Newton, 1985).

Even if the assaulting man is arrested, questions arise as to whether the woman victim should have the discretion to press charges, whether she is willing to testify against her mate, whether the district attorney will find sufficient evidence to try the case, and of course whether there will be an energetic prosecution. It is not surprising that a dismally small number of cases are brought to court (less than 1%) and an even smaller number of convictions are obtained (Walker, 1984).

Police department policies with respect to domestic violence could well be modeled after ones which have already demonstrated success. The St. Louis Housing Authority began a training program in the mid-70s for all of the civilian officers in their police departments. In the course of administering this program, it became evident that the women trainees were better in handling domestic disturbance calls than the men. The psychologist who worked with the program found that male officers tended to "feed the fire through their own aggressive, provocative behavior," whereas women officers intervened "with greater tact and subtlety. They tended to stay longer and seemed much more concerned about getting to the root causes of the conflict" (Martin, 1976). Evaluation of women officers in Washington, D.C., and New York City also showed that women are often better at defusing high conflict situations (Bloch & Anderson, 1974; Greenwald, Connolly, & Bloch, 1974). It might be sensible for more police departments to recruit women officers to serve as leaders of domestic disturbance units.

In Oakland, California, four officers in a pilot program were specially trained to staff family crisis cars. A strong liaison and referral system was also established with cooperating local agencies and counselors. More than one third of the families referred to these sources of aid made appointments, and 80% of those families kept their appointments (Martin, 1976). In 1973, the police department of Hayward, California began a program called Project Outreach. They hired mental health professionals to accompany officers on family crisis calls and to provide ongoing counseling at headquarters.

Unmarked cars equipped with radios were available from Friday to Sunday, from 5 p.m. to 1 a.m., those hours when many protective facilities are closed for the weekend. These are also the times when battering incidents are most likely to occur, as the couple is usually home together for long periods of time. Counselors and officers responded to calls, and once they determined a situation was no longer dangerous, the officer left while the counselor remained to spend as much time as necessary to help resolve the immediate problem and to encourage the parties to participate in further counseling. The family was invited to come to headquarters for up to 10 free sessions of counseling. At the end of its first year, the program was evaluated. It was found that total domestic disturbance calls had dropped off by 22%, and repeat calls had been cut by 27%. Calls took 15% less time for officers to deal with, and no personnel injuries or deaths had resulted from any calls that year. Nor were any serious injuries known to have been sustained in families that had contacted the project (Martin, 1976). Unfortunately, this program was suspended following stringent state and county budget cuts.

The efficacy of these programs is proven time and again, when officers apply their newfound skills to actual situations. When acting with a separate division devoted to violent family disputes, and when afforded unhampered mobility, police officers can respond efficiently and quickly to domestic violence calls. Cooperative action by officers and accompanying counselors achieves more than a superficial resolution of the high tension conflicts they confront. It is possible that trained volunteers from community groups could fulfill the counseling capacity as well. Fundamentally, it seems most important that the consciousness of police officers be awakened. They must recognize the reality and magnitude of the danger that victims face from their batterers, and they must be brought to awareness of their responsibilities as enforcers of the law to protect those victims.

Improving Battered Women's Shelters

It is hoped that ultimately battered women's shelters will serve not only to protect women in danger but also to prevent marital violence from occurring. In order to achieve this, it is important that shelters give women the psychological, economic, and physical support they need to put their lives in order.

Psychological Support

The decision of a woman to leave an abusive husband is often extremely painful and terrifying to her. Some women save money, little by little, pilfering from their meager and closely monitored allowances until they have enough to purchase bus tickets for themselves and their children. Some will leave, initially, as a scare tactic, hoping to show they will not tolerate any more abuse of themselves or their children. Pagelow's (1984) study reported that 78% of the women left their abusers either by going to a shelter, at least once, or by getting a divorce, before the abuse stopped. Most had attempted to leave several times, only to return. Only 7% of abused wives stayed away for over a year, whereas 84% soon returned to their spouses, either because they were threatened or because they believed their abusers were truly penitent and would change. However, one study showed that approximately 50% of those women who stay away for over one week will not return to their homes (Walker, 1979). It is therefore crucial that once a woman comes to a shelter, she is given the support and resources she needs to start a new, independent life. Battered women must be informed of their legal options, and reminded of their basic rights as human beings. They should be reassured that they did not deserve the beatings, and that they could not have controlled or prevented them. The main goal is to restore self-esteem and a sense of self-efficacy within these women (Straus et al., 1980).

Support groups are a key element in accomplishing this goal. They should be available not only to women staying in the shelter at the current time, but also to those who continue to live with their husbands. Groups should meet at times when women can leave their homes without fear of being discovered and punished by their husbands (usually in the daytime). It might be necessary to provide transportation to support group meetings. Child care also needs to be available for preschoolers, as well as play groups with a therapeutic purpose for those of school age. For those women who feel they truly cannot leave the house, counselors could arrange for a group telephone support system.

In order to provide sufficient psychological support for these women, certain conditions should be met to ensure a high quality staff at the shelter. Workers must be mature, sensitive, open-minded, and dedicated to the goals and concerns of the shelter. The ethnicity and language spoken by the staff should match those of the clientele to ensure cultural sensitivity. It is especially important that staff members include women who have survived abuse and successfully ended abusive relationships. By virtue of their enhanced empathy, they can quickly establish the trust and communication necessary to help new residents deal with their feelings and problems. Women who have turned their own lives around make excellent role models for recovering victims.

Unfortunately, shelters often have a high rate of staff turnover because their workers are almost always overworked, underpaid, and under trained (Walker, 1979). A comprehensive program will train its workers in peer counseling and in making appropriate referrals to other community resources (for legal, employment, or marriage counseling). Staff should also be given the opportunity to listen to many speakers, ranging from police personnel to women survivors. It is critical that staff members be dedicated and ready to commit their time regularly, including afterwork hours and night shifts, in order to maintain a low turnover rate and ensure a sense of stable community within the shelter (Straus et al., 1980).

Male staff members and volunteers could serve as positive figures for the women and their children. These men should be carefully trained and sensitized to the concerns and attitudes that women in the shelter might have toward them. They must also be mentally healthy and reliable role models for children, especially the young boys in the shelter.

The women must feel comfortable enough to make the shelter their temporary home. A family style of house government could be used, giving each woman a functional role in the shelter without giving any woman more power than any other. The women could gather for regular "family" meetings to discuss and reaffirm general goals, divide labor fairly, and take turns at different chores. A regimented hierarchy of power within the house should be avoided because it reinforces dominance/submission relations that are essential elements of the battered women's problem. Staff members and volunteers are more effective if they act as mediators, advisors, counselors, and friends, ensuring that the power structure within the shelter is more horizontal than vertical.

Economic Support

For those women at shelters who are not employed, an important goal should be to offer them opportunities to obtain economic independence. Many women who escape to safe shelters become so frightened at the prospect of being completely responsible for themselves and their children, they constantly vacillate between their abusive homes and the shelters. Trained workers or volunteers should be available to give referrals for those places which can provide give advice on employment opportunities and vocational counseling.

Physical Support

Physical support for the woman includes providing immediate medical care if needed and a safe, protective, private environment within the shelter. If the battered woman is injured and has not received medical attention, a staff member may need to accompany her to the nearest hospital or at least know enough first aid to treat her, temporarily, at the shelter, if her injuries are minor.

There are currently many shelters in which living accommodations are cramped and overcrowded, resulting in little or no privacy or room for individuality, and promoting the spread of contagious diseases and disrepair of overused facilities (Walker, 1979). The floor plan and living quarters of an adequate shelter would provide for a communal atmosphere yet allow each family a fair amount of privacy and personal space. When considering what type of house would make a good shelter, planners should keep in mind the importance of providing separate areas of the house which each woman and her children could "claim" temporarily as their own. Central living rooms and dining areas can also promote a more familial feeling. Designated areas of the house would need to be child-proofed, giving young children a safe space in which to explore and play.

Shelter Services

A desirable feature of the improved shelters we are advocating is that the woman and her children should be able to stay for a reasonable amount of time, perhaps drawing up a type of contract when they first come, so that both the woman and the shelter's staff members can make appropriate plans. Most shelters consider a stay of four to six weeks to be optimal. Generally, it takes a woman three to four weeks to adjust to the fact that she is not returning home again, during which time she takes an inventory of her skills and needs in order to make future plans. In the fourth to sixth weeks, she takes concrete steps toward these goals. Planning replaces her initial fear of the future with the confidence that she can make it alone, without her abusive spouse.

Hot-Lines. Hot-lines can serve as critical links between police, battered women, and the shelters. For example, the police could relay addresses and information about calls from abusive homes to the nearest shelter. Staff members at the shelter would then send "on-call" representatives to meet the police at the homes to provide on-the-spot support for the women and encourage them to get further help at the shelter. The hot-lines would need to be open 24 hours a day and staffed by trained people ready to give referrals.

Crime Victim Service Center. This branch of the shelter is closely linked with the hot-line service. However, it has a broader scope. As the main liaison to the police, the center would coordinate community organizations and resources, and also identify unmet needs which could then be targeted for improvement. The goal of this service is to help women avoid the "run-around" in their search of basic information. The center could also be responsible for putting together a handbook listing all community resources: their services, hours and days of operation, fees, and other pertinent facts. Advocates who can support and inform victims throughout the process of getting help should be retained. They could also keep track of offenders and inform women if their husbands are released from custody.

Community Support

Community support fostered in shelters can have extremely beneficial effects. The community support system encourages the woman to believe that she is no longer an isolated victim, and that other people care enough about her to help. By watching and interacting with staff members and neighborhood residents, she learns that lifestyles can be free from violence and fear. Further, direct staff intervention can teach women how to be better parents while giving them time to become reacquainted with their children, whom they may have been forced to neglect while they were struggling to cope with an abusive husband.

Therapy for Victims and Batterers

Psychotherapy is widely employed in dealing with domestic abuse and violence. Sometimes the entire family goes for therapy. To the extent that therapy is not designed to deal specifically with acute battering incidents but instead explores the framework of dysfunctional family transactions and the psychological consequences of abuse, the woman in an immediate crisis may not be helped by its protracted methods. Traditional psychotherapy has been further criticized for decreasing the woman's self-esteem by focusing on her "provocations" of the abuse, while refusing to adequately acknowledge the pathology of the battering. Walker (1979) has described four successful types of therapy:

1. _crisis intervention_: focuses on a specific critical incident that led to the acute battering and teaches conflict resolution techniques, working with either or both parties.

2. _individual psychotherapy_: action-oriented therapy that works toward a balance of economic and psychological dependence and independence, usually in the first stage of the cycle of violence.

3. _group therapy_: action-oriented therapy that is carried out in single-sex groups of 6 to 12 men or women and two therapists, in which the focus is on changing behavior and rebuilding lives.

4. _couples therapy_: an expensive and time-consuming therapy that has the goal of improving communication and perception as well as teaching effective discussion techniques.

Shupe et al. (1987) outlined three counseling programs that focus on the male batterer. The first is designed primarily for clients who are referred by the courts. Offenders may choose this program in order to avoid imprisonment and/or a fine. Meetings consist of groups of 12-18 men and one or more counselors. The program lasts four months, with three 6-week phases. In the first phase, the men are taught anger management techniques: how to recognize frustration, rage, and anger, and how to block these emotions through meditation, biofeedback, and breathing exercises. The second phase is educational, with the emphasis on communication skills and the basic psychological and sociological elements of sex-role relationships. Phase three is therapy-oriented and specifically tailored to each client's needs, whether it be substance-abuse rehabilitation or further counseling.

The clients in Shupe's second type of program are mostly volunteer couples. The format gives couples opportunities to meet with male and female counselors to discuss the reality of their fears, suspicions, and motives. They learn anger management techniques, and how to communicate honestly with their spouses about their needs and desires.

The third program generally serves court-referred or walk-in couples who are counseled mostly in groups. The first five to seven weeks consists of anger-control and stress-reduction lectures, demonstrations, and exercises. The next five weeks focuses on building and perfecting skills that were learned previously.

In general, the outcome evaluations of these kinds of programs are very positive for those individuals and couples who complete the course. The programs have three similarities that are essential for their success, according to Shupe et al. The first is that they each hold the violent person responsible for his abusive actions and stress that he is not powerless to stop it. The second similarity is that they all seek to obtain objective and independent information on the violent person and, whenever possible, monitor their behavior during and after the time they are in the counseling program. The third factor that influences the programs' success is that they create a moral atmosphere in the counseling sessions which reinforces the idea that physical violence and emotional abuse are neither appropriate solutions nor excusable as normal masculine behaviors.

Raising Public Awareness

One prevalent problem is the lack of knowledge about the resources available to help battered women. Oftentimes, an abused woman may have no idea where she can go to get help. Many think only to call the police. However, as we have described in previous sections, the police often lack the skills to deal with domestic violence. This section will focus on strategies to raise the awareness of as many women as possible of the existence and functions of these organizations and centers.

Wilson, Cobb, & Dolan (1987) outlined two types of activities to suit this purpose: visibility and sensitivity activities. Visibility activities include public service announcements and media advertisements. Bowker's (1983) study in Milwaukee was able to obtain widespread free or low-cost advertisements in newspapers, newsletters, radio stations, and television stations. This research team made personal appearances in classes and on radio and television talk shows to publicize their study. Likewise, for the Wilson et al. study, media coverage included brief community announcements which were generally presented in local radio news briefs, television announcements, and newspaper coverage. Interviews with staff members and newsworthy events regarding shelters were featured on television and radio. Newspapers printed feature stories about shelters, along with more general articles about domestic violence. In addition to these kinds of advertisements, Wilson et al. also recommended distributing information and materials about shelters in the form of pamphlets and posters at local stores, beauty shops, and laundromats. Social service agencies, volunteer fire departments, churches, and police departments can be contacted to inform individuals about shelters and their services.

Sensitivity activities, as described in the Wilson et al. (1987) study, included the development and implementation of instructional presentations. The workshops and training sessions involved community leaders, local officials, and social service personnel as well as church and school groups. Presentations usually consisted of slide or puppet shows, which encouraged adults and children to use nonviolent methods of conflict resolution. The sessions ended with group discussions.

Wilson et al. stressed the importance of having female coordinators of varying personal styles and past experiences with the ability to empathize and communicate directly with the community. Ideally, each coordinator would be indigenous to and therefore familiar with her community, making it easier for her to establish trust with both community residents and program participants. The most successful coordinators have been women who were once battered wives themselves, but who are now engaged in nonabusive intimate relationships. They can act as important role models and as symbols of hope for women who are currently trapped in battering relationships. These victims must learn that love and violence cannot be reconciled within a healthy relationship.

References

Allen, K., Calsyn, D., Fehrenbach, P., & Benton, G. (1989). A Study of the interpersonal behaviors of male batterers. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. *4*(1), 79-89.

Annotated California Codes (1992). Penal Code Sections 211-246. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co.

Asbury, J. (1987). African-American women in violent relationships: An exploration of cultural differences. In R.L. Hampton (Ed.), *Violence in the black family*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Berk, R.A., & Newton, P.J. (1985). Does arrest really deter wife battery? An effort to replicate the findings of the Minneapolis spouse abuse experiment. *American Sociological Review*, *50*(2), 253-262.

Berke, R.A., Berke, S.F., Loseke, D.R., & Rauma, D. (1983). Mutual combat and other family violence myths. In D. Finkelhor, R.J. Gelles, G.T. Hotaling, & M.A. Straus (Eds.), *The dark side of families: Current family violence research*, (p.199). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing Co.

Bernard, M.L., & Bernard, J.L. (1983). Violent intimacy: The family as a model for love relationships. *Family Relations*, *34*, 573-576.

Bernard, J.L., Bernard, S.L., & Bernard, M.L. (1985). Courtship violence and sex-typing. *Family Relations*, *32*, 573-576.

Bloch, P., & Anderson, D. (1974). *Policewomen on patrol*. Washington, DC: Police Foundation.

Bowker, L. H. (Ed.) (1983). Beating wife-beating. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company.

Browne, A. (1987). *When battered women kill*. New York: The Free Press.

Bureau of the Census (1970). *Statistical abstract of the United States, 91st edition*. Washington, D.C.

California senate subcommittee on nutrition and human needs hearing on marital and family violence, (p.234). July 21, 1975.

Cate, R.M., Henton, J.M., Koval, J., Christopher, S., & Lloyd, S. (1982). Premarital abuse: A social psychological perspective. *Journal of Family Issues*, *3*, 79-90.

Davidson, T. (1978). Conjugal crime. New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc.

Dekeseredy, W.S. (1988). Woman abuse in dating relationships: The relevance of social support theory. Journal of Family Violence, [illegible]

DeMaris, A. (1987). The efficacy of a spouse abuse model in accounting for courtship violence. Journal of Family Issues, 8, [illegible]

Dobash, R.E., & Dobash, R. (1979). Violence against wives. New York: The Free Press.

Dobash, R.E., & Dobash, R. (1978). Wives: The 'appropriate' victims of marital violence. Victimology, 2(3/4), 426-442.

Eisenberg, S., & Micklow, P. (1974). The assaulted wife: Catch 22 revisited. (An exploratory legal study of wifebeating in Michigan). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Law School.

Ferraro, K.J., & Johnson, J.M. (1983). How women experience battering: The process of victimization. Social Problems, 30, [illegible]

Fields, M. (1978). Does this vow include wife beating? Human Rights, 7(20), 40-45.

Fields, M., & Kirchner, R. (1978). Battered women are still in need: A reply to Steinmetz. Victimology, 3(1-2), 216-22.

Follingstad, D.A., Rutledge, L.L., Polek, D.S., & McNeill-Hawkins, K. (1988). Factors associated with patterns of dating violence towards college women. Journal of Family Violence, 3, 169-182.

Frieze, I.H. (1980). Causes and consequences of marital rape. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Psychological Association, Montreal, Canada.

Frieze, I.H. (1983). Investigating the causes and consequences of marital rape. Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 8, [illegible]

Frieze, I.H. (1979). Perceptions of battered wives. In I.H. Frieze, D. Bar-Tal, & J.S. Carroll (Eds.), New approaches to social problems. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gastil, R.D. (1971). Homicide and a regional culture of violence. American Sociological Review, 36, 412-427.

Gelles, R. (1972). The violent home. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing Co.

Girshick, L.B. (1992). Mid-Peninsula support network for battered women.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Gottman, J.M., & Krokoff, L.J. (1989). Marital interaction and satisfaction: a longitudinal view. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 57, 47-52.

Greenwald, J., Connolly, H., & Bloch, P. (1974). New York City policewomen on patrol. Washington DC: Police Foundation.

Hanks, S. (1992). Translating theory into practice: A conceptual framework for clinical assessment, differential diagnosis, and multi-modal treatment of maritally violent individuals, couples, and families. In, Emilio Veino (Ed.), Intimate violence: Interdisciplinary perspectives, pp. 157-176. Washington, DC: Hemisphere Publications.

Henton, J., Cate, R., Koval, J., Lloyd, S., & Christopher, S. (1983). Romance and violence in dating relationships. Journal of Family Issues, 4, 467-482.

Jackson, S. (1975). Marital violence in San Francisco. Memorandum to the Women's Litigation Unit, San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, p. 8.

Jaffe, N. (1980). Assaults on women: Rape and wife beatings. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 579. New York: Public Affairs Committee.

Johnston, J.R., & Campbell, L.E.G. (1992). Profiles of violence in divorcing parents disputing custody and patterns of parent-child relationships. Part II of final report to the Judicial Council of the State of California, High conflict & violent divorcing families: Findings on children's adjustment and proposed guidelines for the resolution of disputed custody and visitation. San Francisco, Judicial Council of the State of California.

Kanin, E.J. (1967). Reference groups and sex conduct norms. Sociological Quarterly, 8, 495-504.

Kanin, E.J., & Parcell, S. (1977). Sexual aggression: A second look at the offended female. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 6, 67-76.

Korman, S.A., & Leslie, G.R. (1982). The relationship of feminist ideology and date expense sharing to perceptions of sexual aggression in dating. Journal of Sex Research, 18, 114-129.

Koss, M.R., Gidycz, C.A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 55, 162-170.

Koss, M.P., & Oros, C.J. (1982). Sexual experiences survey: A research instrument investigating sexual aggression and victimization. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 50, 455-457.

Lane, K.E., & Gwartney-Gibbs, P.A. (1985). Violence in the context of dating and sex. Journal of Family Issues, 6(1), 45-59.

Laner, M.R. (1983). Courtship abuse and aggression: Contextual aspects. Sociological Spectrum, 3, 69-83.

Laner, M.R., & Thompson, J. (1982). Abuse and aggression in courting couples. Deviant Behavior, 3, 229-244.

Lemon, N.K.D. (1990). Domestic violence: The law and criminal prosecution. Technical report of the family violence project, San Francisco, CA.

Lockhart, L,, & White, B.W. (1989). Understanding marital violence in the black community. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 4(4), 421-436.

Makepeace, J.M. (1981). Courtship violence among college students. Family Relations, 30, 97-102.

Makespeace, J.M. (1989). Dating, living together, & courtship violence. In M.A. Pirog-Good, & J.E. Stets (Eds.), Violence in dating relationships, pp. 94-107. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Makepeace, J.M. (1986). Gender differences in courtship violence victimization. Family Relations, 35, 383-388.

Makepeace, J.M. (1983). Life events stress and courtship violence. Family Relations, 32, 101-109.

Makepeace, J.M. (1984, August). The severity of courtship violence injuries and individual precautionary measures. Paper presented at the Second National Family Violence Research Conference, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH.

Makepeace, J.M. (1987). Social factors and victim offender differences in courtship violence. Family Relations, 36, 87-91.

Margolin, G., John, R., & Burman, B. (1989). Home observations of marital couples re-enacting naturalistic marital conflicts. Behavioral Assessment, 11, 101-118.

Margolin, G., John, R., & Gleberman, L. (1988). Affective responses to conflictual discussions in violent and non-violent families. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 56, 24-33.

Marquardt, J.A., & Cox, C. (1979). Violence against wives: Expected effects of Utah's spouse abuse act. Journal of Contemporary Law, 5 (Spring), 277-292.

Marshall, L.L, & Rose, P. (1987). Gender, stress, and violence in adult relationships of a sample of college students. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 4, 299-316.

Martin, D. (1976). Battered wives. San Francisco: Glide Publications.

Matthews, W.J. (1984). Violence in college couples. College Student Journal, 18, 150-158.

McKinney, K. (1986). Measures of verbal, physical, and sexual dating violence by gender. Free Inquiry into Creative Sociology, 14(1), 61-66.

Merton, R. (1968). Social theory and social structure. New York: Free Press.

Moore, D.M. (1979). Battered women. Beverly Hills: Sage Publishing Co.

Morgan, S. (1982). Conjugal terrorism. Palo Alto, CA: R&E Research Associates, Inc.

Murphy, J.E. (1984, August). Date abuse and forced intercourse among college students. Paper presented at the Second National Family Violence Research Conference, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH.

O'Keefe, N., Brockopp, K., & Chew, E. (1986). Teen dating violence. Social Work, 31, 465-468.

Pagelow, M.D. (1980). Double victimization of battered women: Victimized by spouses and the legal system. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Pagelow, M.D. (1984). Family violence. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Peterson-Lewis, S., Turner, C.W., & Adams, A.M. (1988). Attribution processes in repeatedly abused women. In Violence in intimate relationships. New York: PMA Publishing Corporation.

Pleck, E., Pleck, J.H., Grossman, M., & Bart, P.B. (1978). The battered date syndrome: A comment on Steinmetz' article. Victimology, 2(3/4), 680-683.

Pizzey, E. (1974). Scream quietly or the neighbors will hear. London: If Books.

Plass, M.S., & Gessner, J.C. (1983). Violence in courtship relations: A Southern example. Free Inquiry into Creative Sociology, 11, 198-202.

Rapaport, K., & Burkhart, B.R. (1984). Personality and attitudinal characteristics of sexually coercive college males. Abnormal Psychology, 93, 216-221.

Roscoe, B., & Benaske, N. (1985). Courtship violence experienced by abused wives: Similarities in patterns of abuse. Family Relations, 34, 419-424.

Roscoe, B., & Callahan, J.E. (1985). Adolescents' self-report of violence in families and dating relations. Adolescence, 20, 545-553.

Roscoe, B., & Kelsey, T. (1985). Dating violence among high school students. Psychology, 23(1), 53-59.

Rosenbaum, A., & O'Leary, K.D. (1981). Marital violence: Characteristics of abusive couples. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 49, 63-71.

Seligman, M.P. (1976). Learned helplessness and depression in animals and men. Morristown, NY: General Learning Press.

Sherman, L.W., & Berk, R.A. (1984). The specific deterrent effects of arrest for domestic assault. American Sociological Review, 49(2), 261-272.

Shupe, A.D., Stacey, W.A., Hazlewood, L.R. (1987). Violent men, violent couples. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company.

Siegelman, C.K., Berry, C.J., & Wiles, K.A. (1984). Violence in college students' dating relationships. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 5, 530-548.

Star, B. (1980). Patterns in family violence. Social Casework, 61(6), 339-346.

Stark, R., & McEvoy, J. (1970). Middle class violence. Psychology Today, (4), 52-65.

Steinmetz, S. (1978). The battered husband syndrome. Victimology, 2(3/4), 499-509.

Steinmetz, S. (1977). The cycle of violence. New York, NY: Sage Publishing Co.

Stets, J.E. (1991). Psychological aggression in dating relationships: The role of interpersonal control. Journal of Family Violence, 6, 97-182.

Stets, J.E., & Pirog-Good, M.A. (1987). Violence in dating relationships. Social Psychology Quarterly, 50(3), 237-246.

Stets, J.E. & Pirog-Good, M.A. (1989a). The help-seeking behavior of physically and sexually abused college students. In J.E. Stets & M.A. Pirog-Good (Eds.), Violence in dating relationships, pp. 108-125. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Stets, J.E., & Pirog-Good, M.A. (1989b). Patterns of physical and sexual abuse for men and women in dating relationships: A descriptive analysis. Journal of Family Violence, 4, 63-76.

Stets, J.E., & Straus, M.A. (1989). The marriage license as a hitting license: a comparison of assaults in dating, cohabiting, and married couples. Journal of Family Violence, 4, 161-180.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Strau[illegible], M.A., & Gelles, R.J. (1988). Has family violence decreased? A [illegible] of the Straus & Gelles data. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 50, 281-291.

Straus, M. A., Gelles, R.J., & Steinmetz, S.K. (1980). Behind closed doors: Violence in the American family. New York: Doubleday.

Straus, M.A., Gelles, R.J., & Steinmetz, S.K. (1976). Violence in the family: An assessment of knowledge and research needs. Paper presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science Convention, Boston, MA.

Sugarman, D.B., & Hotaling, G.T. (1989). Dating violence: Prevalence, context, and risk markers. In M.A. Pirog-Good, & J.E. Stets (Eds.), Violence in dating relationships, pp. 3-32. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Techniques of dispute intervention (1975, June 19). Training Bulletin III-J, pp. 2-3. City of Oakland Police Services.

Thompson, W.E. (1986). Courtship violence: Toward a conceptual understanding. Youth and Society, 18(2), 162-176.

Truninger, E. (1971). Marital violence: The legal solutions. Hastings Law Journal, 23(1), 262.

Van Hasselt, V., Morrison, R.L., Bellack, A.S., & Michel, H. (Eds.) (1988). Handbook of family violence. New York: Plenum Press.

Walker, L. (1979). The battered woman. New York: Harper & Row.

Walker, L. (1984). The battered woman syndrome. New York: Springer Publishing Co.

Weitzman, L. (1974). Legal regulation of marriage: Tradition and change. California Law Review, 62(4).

Wilson, K., Faison, R., & Britton, G.M. (1983). Cultural aspects of male sex aggression. Deviant Behavior: An Interdisciplinary Journal, 4, 241-255.

Wilson, M.N., Cobb, D.D., & Dolan, R.T. (1987). Raising the awareness of wife battering in rural black areas of central Virginia: A community outreach approach. In R.L. Hamton (Ed.), Violence in the black family. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company.

Wolfgang, M.E. (1958). Patterns in criminal homicide. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

DRAFT VERSION ONLY: [illegible]

COMMENTS WELCOMED

Chapter 7

THE INTERGENERATIONAL LEGACY OF FAMILY VIOLENCE: A CRITICAL REVIEW AND REFORMULATION

Janet R. Johnston, Ph.D.

Abstract

This paper reviews briefly the empirical evidence of family violence and its consequences for children and adults. It concludes that there are significant gaps in this body of research which render the current debate about the magnitude of intergenerational transmission effects largely invalid. Four limitations of previous research are identified and discussed. First, most studies of long-term outcomes have narrowed their focus of enquiry to aggression, violence, and abuse in successive generations and have largely ignored other emotional or mental disorders, such as anxiety, depression, and somatic symptoms. Second, most studies of concurrent effects have examined general behavioral and emotional symptomatology in children of family violence and abuse but have failed to address the specific areas in which there are likely to be pathological outcomes, i.e., distrust, distorted perceptions, numbing of affect and moral sensibilities, and consequent difficulties in interpersonal and intimate relationships. Third, most studies of the effects of family violence have sampled outcomes at only one point in time. This ignores the possibility of latent effects that can be activated as responses to developmental changes, or during family transitions and other stressful events. Fourth, little attention has been given to the question whether the legacy of family violence becomes manifest largely as a result of its interactions with specific types of stressful events within certain social milieus, or only when the violence undermines particular vulnerabilities within individuals. Finally, it is argued that what is needed to guide future empirical research and intervention is a substantive theory about the mechanisms for intergenerational transmission effects. Such a theoretical formulation is then proposed, based primarily on a social cognition theory of "scripts" and developed within the context of attachment and object relations theories. Implications for intervention programs and social policy are summarized.

Review of the Literature

Incidence of Childhood Exposure to Family Violence

Current estimates as to the number of children potentially exposed to family violence are based upon extrapolations from national surveys of spouse-to-spouse and parent-to-child aggression (Straus & Gelles, 1988; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). Approximately 3 million married or cohabiting couples in the United States experience at least one serious violent incident yearly (punching, kicking, beating, use of weapon). Assuming an average of two children per family in the 55% of families that contain a child between the ages of 3 and 17, Carlson (1984) has estimated that 3.3 million American children in intact families could be exposed to marital violence annually. However, the total estimate of children potentially affected by violence between parents is probably in excess of 4 million each year if we include children under 3 years and those from divorcing families. (Note that more than 1 million children experience divorce each year, and up to two thirds of these children are potentially exposed to high levels of violence between their parents, often around the time of transfer of the child for visits, [Depner, Cannata, & Simon, 1992; Johnston, 1992].) There is little data available on the extent to which children actually witness parental violence. The proportion of children reported being present at such violent scenes ranges from 41% to 80% (Bard, 1970; Leighton, 1989; Rosenberg & Rossman, 1990; Sinclair, 1985).

With respect to child abuse, estimates vary depending upon how this term is defined. Using an index that combines all the items which have the highest probability of injuring a child (kicks, bites, punches, beatings, threats with a gun or knife), national probability studies reveal that 18% of children have been the object of at least one severe violent act by parents at some time in their lives, with 11% experiencing such an event in the past year (Straus & Gelles, 1988; Straus et al., 1980). This amounts to a total of 1.4 to 1.9 million children being vulnerable to physical injury from their parents annually. The majority of these incidents are likely to be witnessed by siblings.

The Debate about Intergenerational Transmission of Violence

The idea that family violence, specifically spousal and child abuse, breeds successive generations of abusers is a widely-held assumption which has recently come under considerable scrutiny. The intuitively plausible hypothesis that "violence begets violence" was initially supported by a spate of early case histories and clinical studies (e.g. Gladston, 1965; Green, Gaines, & Sangrum, 1974; Spinetta & Rigler, 1972; Steele & Pollack, 1968). In a number of earlier studies, samples of violent or abusive persons obtained from hospitals (Silver, Dublin, & Lowrie, 1969), juvenile court records (Alfaro, 1981; Glueck & Glueck, 1950), child protective service records (Gil, 1973), and battered women's shelters (Gayford, 1975; Roy, 1977) were asked to report retrospectively on the extent to which they themselves had been witness to or subject of parental violence as children. In general, the results were interpreted as strong evidence for intergenerational transmission effects. Recent reviewers have pointed out a host of methodological problems in these early studies (Cicchetti & Aber, 1980; Kaufman & Zigler, 1987; Pagelow, 1984; Widom, 1989). Most notably, the problems included varying definitions of violence and abuse, absence of comparison groups, bias in the selection of samples, questionable validity of data, and failure to control for other factors that might explain the outcomes (unemployment, poverty, socioethnic differences, biochemical factors). In addition, the retrospective data on which all of those early studies relied have been viewed as suspect.

In order to compare the findings of different studies, a common, valid estimate of the rate of intergenerational transmission of aggression is needed. A conservative estimate could be derived from the percentage of persons with a history of violence in their family of origin who have perpetrated violence in their family of procreation minus the percentage of persons with no childhood history of family violence who have perpetrated such violence. If possible, the data should be calculated for men and women separately, and distinctions made between the kinds of violence (spouse abuse or child abuse). The most valid estimates would come from longitudinal, prospective studies that utilize repeated measurements of outcome. To date, such measurements are virtually absent by reason of the expense involved.

Alternatively, large, nationally representative samples of non-clinic families studied retrospectively can provide valid estimates, although these reports are subject to defensive distortion and failure of memory. Special samples of abusive or abused persons can supply data for estimating rates provided that adequate control groups are included, but by the very nature of the selection process, these rates are likely to be biased.

In recent, more methodologically adequate studies, the findings showing intergenerational transmission of violence remain quite robust and statistically significant, but they appear to be smaller than was previously assumed. In fact, there seems to be a relatively modest relationship between the likelihood that a parent or spouse will be violent if she or he has been abused or has witnessed violence as a child. A number of the most prominent of these studies will be briefly reviewed here.

Using a large, nationally representative survey of intact families, Straus et al. (1980) concluded that whereas 35% of husbands and about 26% of wives who remembered having witnessed interparental aggression as children became physically aggressive towards their own spouses, only 11% of men and 9% of women did so if they had not witnessed marital abuse. This amounts to a rate of intergenerational transmission of spouse abuse of about 24% for males and 18% for females. Kalmuss (1984), using similar national data, estimated that 12% of men and 17% of women perpetrated severe aggression towards their spouses if they had been both witness to and subject of parental abuse, whereas only 1% of men and 2% of women severely aggressed if they had not been exposed to family violence. This amounts to an intergenerational transmission rate of 11% for men and 15% for women.

Among a survey of college students, Bernard & Bernard (1983) found that 29% of males and 37% of females who had physically abusive dating relationships came from abusive families, whereas 7% of males and 15% of females had abusive dating relationships though they came from nonabusive families. This translates to an intergenerational transmission rate of 22% for both men and women, which is remarkably similar to the Straus et al. data. What is more, these researchers found that three fourths of both men and women used the same form of abuse on their partners as they had observed between their parents as children. In a comparison of abused wives with a nonabused control group, Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981) found that women abused by their spouses were not more likely to have come from families characterized by marital violence and child abuse. However, 88% of their abusing husbands experienced family violence in childhood, whereas this was true for 45% of the nonabusing husbands. This translates to an intergenerational transmission rate of 43% for men and 0% for women. On the other hand, using the only longitudinal data available to date, Malone, Tyree, and O'Leary (1989) and MacEwen and Barling (1988) found that, for women, a history of family abuse predicted their use of physical aggression towards their partner at courtship and at 6 months and 18 months after marriage; whereas a history of family abuse for men predicted aggression towards their partner only at courtship.

With respect to child abuse, Straus et al. (1980) estimated that between 25% and 30% of both mothers and fathers abuse their children if they themselves had been subject to abuse as teenagers, whereas only about 10% abused if they had not been hit as teenagers. This corresponds to an intergenerational transmission rate of child abuse of about 18%. Hunter & Kilstrom (1979), in a longitudinal study of mothers of premature infants (who were consequently at risk for disruption in their attachments to their babies), found an overall intergenerational transmission of abuse rate of 18% during the first year of the baby's life.

In another longitudinal study of young mothers identified during their pregnancies as at-risk for abusing their children (due to poverty, unmarried status etc.), Egeland and associates (1987, 1988), using a broad definition of abuse (which included harsh disciplinary practices), found that 74% of mothers with a history of abuse subsequently abused their babies, whereas 31% of mothers with no abusive history abused their babies during the first year.

Using a narrower definition of abuse, 34% of those with a child abuse history severely abused their babies, whereas only 3% with no abusive history did so. Interestingly, both these sets of figures translate into a 31% intergenerational transmission rate. In a comparison of groups of abusive parents with nonabusive parents, gender unspecified, Herrenkohl, Herrenkohl, and Toedtler (1983) found that 56% of those who abused their children had a history of abuse, whereas 38% of those who abused had no history of family abuse as children. This also translates to an 18% rate of intergenerational transmission of child abuse.

In summary, intergenerational transmission of aggression estimates from the above studies range from 11% to 43% for men and 0% to 31% for women, with the average for men being about 23% and for women being about 18%. Three further conclusions are generally evident from the above studies. First, the greater the severity of violence in the family of origin, the more likely it is that severe acts of violence will be perpetrated in the family of procreation. Second, there are cumulative effects of having witnessed violence as a child and having been the target of parent-child abuse in predicting the probability and severity of violence in the next generation. Third, there is an extensive overlap between exposure to spousal violence and being subject to child abuse, both in families of origin and families of procreation. Current estimates are that between 40% and 60% of children who witness interparental abuse are also abused themselves (Forsstrom-Cohen & Rosenbaum, 1985; Giles-Sims, 1985; Hughes, Parkinson, & Vargo, 1989; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Straus et al., 1980).

These studies are generally based upon an implicit or explicit modeling theory of aggression, namely, that violence is learned behavior which is often mediated by attitudes of social approval for the use of physically coercive methods for interpersonal control. There is empirical evidence that the learning of violence is more likely to be role-specific than sex-specific. Actual spousal violence and the approval of aggression in one's own marriage is better predicted by marital violence witnessed as a child (than it is by a history of child abuse), with this effect being stronger for men than for women (Hertzberger, 1983; Owens & Straus, 1975; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Ulbrich & Huber 1981). Actual abuse of one's children and approval of physical punishment is better predicted by a history of child abuse (than it is by a history of witness to marital violence), with this effect being stronger for women than for men (Kalmus, 1984; Straus et al., 1980). Whereas there is some suggestion that children model the behavior of the same-sex parent (Straus et al., 1980), learning the violent role in the family does not appear to be sex-specific. Kalmus (1984), followed by Cappell and Heiner (1990), in examining large, nationally representative samples of intact families, have shown that boys are just as likely to learn violence from their mothers as from their fathers, and that girls are just as likely to model the violence of their fathers as that of their mothers.

The hypothesis that long-term outcomes of violence and abuse are not limited to the propensity for aggression has been rarely investigated. Where it has been studied, the hypothesis has received support. Using national data, Cappell and Heiner (1990) found that the vulnerability to becoming a victim of physical aggression is more likely to be passed down from one generation to the next, for both men and women, than is the propensity for aggression. In a study of college students, Forsstrom-Cohen and Rosenbaum (1985) found that women who had witnessed violence as children were more likely to be aggressive and also more likely to be anxious and depressed than those from a comparison group of women who had not witnessed violence. By contrast, the young men who had witnessed marital violence were only more anxious (and not more aggressive or depressed) than those who did not. Carlson (1990) in a study of adolescents in residential treatment found that males (but not females) who had been exposed to spousal abuse were more violent towards their mothers and they also had more suicidal thoughts, compared to adolescents who had not witnessed violence as children. These few studies suggest that the harmful long-term legacy of family violence may extend beyond the narrow focus of perpetration of aggression, this being a proposition that is now explored further in reviewing available data on the array of emotional and behavioral symptomatology of children from violent families.

Symptomatology of Children in Violent Families.

During the last decade there have been extensive, periodic reviews of the effects on children of marital conflict (Emery, 1982, 1989; Grych & Fincham, 1990), family violence (Fantuzzo & Lindquist, 1989; Jaffe, Wolfe, & Wilson, 1990) and child abuse (Finkelhor & Korbin, 1988; Steele, 1986; Wolfe, 1987). The most compelling data have come from a small number of longitudinal, prospective studies which have shown consistent adverse consequences for children of marital conflict, violence, and family disruption when these have all been lumped together. Both large-scale national surveys (Cherlin et al., 1991) and smaller, more intensive studies (Block, Block, & Gjerde, 1986) have shown that the effects on children attributed to divorce can be predicted by conditions in the family (especially marital conflict) long before the separation occurred, with boys being more symptomatic than girls. Longitudinal studies after divorce (Johnston, Gonzalez, & Campbell, 1987; Kline, Johnston, & Tschann, 1991; Tschann, Johnston, Kline, & Wallerstein, 1989) have shown that verbal and physical abuse between parents during the marriage cast a long shadow over the divorce, affecting the children for at least 3 to 4 years postseparation, with the effects being mostly mediated by less warm and more coercive parent-child relationships. Caspi and Elder (1988), in an unprecedented study of four generations of women, have shown that conflictual marriages result in punitive, inconsistent parenting that produces difficult, undercontrolled personality styles in the adolescence and young adulthood of the children, therefore contributing to conflictual marriages in the next generation.

A rapidly growing body of research consists mostly of cross-sectional correlational studies between marital violence and children's adjustment as measured by standardized checklists of symptomatic behavior problems such as the Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983) and the Revised Behavior Problems Checklist (Quay & Peterson, 1983). The majority of these studies are of children of battered women who have sought shelter. Usually only the mothers, and occasionally the shelter staff, reported on the children's adjustment (Christopoulos et al., 1987; Hershorn & Rosenbaum, 1985; Hughes, 1988; Hughes & Barad, 1983; Hughes et al., 1989; Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson, & Zak, 1986a, 1986b; Jouriles, Barline, & O'Leary, 1987; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Wolfe, Jaffe, Wilson, & Zak, 1985, 1986). Several other studies are of high conflict divorcing families, in which usually both parents and sometimes teachers report on the children (Johnston, 1992; Johnston et al., 1987; Shaw &

Emery, 1987). In comparison with children from nonviolent but otherwise similar socioeconomic backgrounds, the children of family violence evidence substantially more problems, and are two to four times more likely to score within the clinical range of disturbance.

If the explanation for children's symptomatic behavior is simply a modeling or learning hypothesis, one would expect to find that these children have problems with undercontrol, otherwise known as externalizing difficulties. Indeed, increased externalizing problems, including aggression, hyperactivity, conduct disorders, and delinquency, have been found in the majority of studies referenced above that compared children from violent families with nonviolent families, with boys generally demonstrating more disturbance in this domain than girls. However, in these same studies, problems with overcontrol or internalizing difficulties have also been reported. In fact, symptomatic behaviors such as anxiety, depression, withdrawal, and uncommunicativeness, which are usually less observable, have commonly been reported, sometimes in excess of externalizing problems. In the domain of symptomatic behaviors, girls generally are seen as having more difficulty than boys. In the few studies that have examined somatic symptoms, children of family violence are also seen as significantly more distressed (Carlson, 1984; Johnston, 1992; Layzer, Goodson, & DeLange, 1985; Rosenberg & Rossman, 1990).

It is evident that the legacy of high conflict and violence in families extends beyond children's learning how to be aggressive. These children are far more likely to have disabling emotional distress and other difficulties of clinically significant proportions. In general, these patterns of disturbance are explained better by stress and coping theory than by learning theory. The idea is that violent and abusive incidents constitute overwhelmingly stressful or traumatic events for children. In attempting to cope with the stressful event, especially if repeatedly exposed to violence, children usually try to adapt and defend in ways that may be functional within their particular family (e.g. by repression, denial, avoidance, trying to manage the conflict), but which are commonly dysfunctional and problematic in other situations and relationships. Hence the children's problem behavior is largely attributable to the individual child's maladaptive coping responses within the family system (Emery, 1989). To the extent that the child's coping efforts are not effective, the residual symptoms of distress are commonly identified as post-traumatic stress disorder (Pynoos & Eth, 1986). These symptoms include anxiety, hypervigilance, regression, inability to concentrate, emotional numbing and withdrawal, recurrent and intrusive memories, nightmares and other sleep disturbances. Children of different ages are vulnerable in different ways, depending upon their developmental stage and personal resources (Cummings & Cummings, 1988). Because this explanation more closely fits the pattern of empirical findings, one can argue that the majority of research has focused primarily on behavioral symptomatology in children and has paid relatively little attention to the domains in which there are most likely to be pathological outcomes, i.e., the styles by which children of family violence learn to manage, control, negotiate, and survive in interpersonal and intimate relationships.

Interpersonal Relationships of Children of Family Violence

Compared to the growing body of research on the effects of family violence on children's behavioral and emotional symptomatology, only a few researchers have examined the legacy of severe family conflict and violence in terms of children's developing personality styles or character disorders, which are here defined as variations or aberrations in style of interpersonal relatedness. A scant number of cognitive and social psychologists have focused on children's deviance with respect to their social emotions, social perceptions, and sense of morality. Only a small number of attachment theorists have begun to examine the problem in terms of the child's internal working models of relationship.

Children of domestic violence have been found to be generally less socially competent, in the few studies that have looked at this domain (Jaffe et al., 1986a, 1986b; Johnston, 1992; Wolfe et al., 1986). However it was Rosenberg's (1987) study of children's social-cognitive skills and problem-solving strategies that examined more specifically the domains in which these children's deficits lie. Children from violent homes differed from those who had not witnessed violence in two important ways. First, they demonstrated less interpersonal sensitivity in that they had greater difficulty identifying social problem situations and understanding the thoughts and feelings of those involved. Second, they tended to choose either passive or aggressive strategies to resolve interpersonal conflicts and were less likely to choose assertive strategies that involved direct discussion and mutual compromise. Groisser's (1986) extension of this study found that children who had witnessed violence had fewer alternative strategies for resolving social problems once their original strategy was blocked. Though they were less interpersonally sensitive under normal social situations, they became hypersensitive in response to high levels of expressed anger, compared to children from nonviolent families. Interestingly, children from both violent and maritally discordant homes were more likely to report that they turned to their parents to help them cope than did those from non-discordant homes (Rosenberg & Rossman, 1990).

Researchers, in controlled laboratory settings, found a similar pattern in children's responses to background anger (Cummings & Cummings, 1988; Cummings, Pellegrine, Notarius, & Cummings, 1989; Cummings, Vogel, Cummings, & El-Sheikh, 1989). In general, these children were increasingly able to cope with anger as they got older, but at the same time they were increasingly sensitive to and more likely to become involved in others' angry conflicts. Young children who witnessed physical aggression between their parents and those from highly discordant homes showed more concern and preoccupation with incidents of background anger. They also sought more support from mother and were more solicitous of mother's well-being, compared to children from nonviolent homes.

The hypothesis that children's social competence seems to be significantly altered by exposure to anger and violence is also tangentially supported by a body of research reported by Dodge, Bates, and Petit (1990). Aggressive children, who were more likely to have witnessed and experienced family abuse, showed a number of deficits and were deviant in perceiving and making sense of social situations, compared to non-aggressive children. Specifically, these researchers concluded that

> ...these children display deficits in attending to and encoding relevant social cues, and biases and errors in over-attributing hostile intent to others. They access many aggressive responses and few competent responses from repertoires stored in memory, and they tend to evaluate the outcomes of aggression as interpersonally and instrumentally positive. (p.679)

These cognitive biases in the processing of social information are increased in response to threats (Dodge & Sonberg, 1987) and are conducive to more aggressive, abusive, or violent behavior.

According to clinical reports, children from high-conflict and violent divorcing families show various patterns of defensive and coping styles in response to their chronically disputing parents, such as maneuvering, equilibrating, merging, and diffusing (Johnston & Campbell, 1988), which are hypothesized to constitute nascent interpersonal styles of relating. A recent study of the Rorschach profiles of a sample of these children showed startling deviations from the norms (Bardenstein, Roseby, Johnston, & Erdberg, 1992). These children do not appear to be particularly aggressive. Rather, they tend to be hypervigilant, lacking in basic trust, and unable to turn to others for warmth and relationships. Their basic problem-solving stance is an intensely introverted one in which they do not rely on others to help them interpret the world. They construe the social world simplistically or in a somewhat idiosyncratic way. They tend to be emotionally constricted, unaware of their feelings, and to have low self-esteem or a fragmented, inconsistent sense of themselves. This particular constellation of findings is generally indicative of quite stable, characterological ways of perceiving and relating to others. Obviously, if these preliminary findings are valid and can be replicated, they portend troubling implications for these children's future capacity for intimate relationships.

The most promising theoretical explanation for the above phenomenon comes from the idea of internal working models of relationship in attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1980; Bretherton, Ridgeway, & Cassidy, in press; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985). Internal working models of relationship are essentially sets of expectations about relationships with primary caretakers, which first begin to form as a consequence of repeated sensorimotor experience with the caretaker during the infant's first year. For example, children who experience their caregivers as emotionally sensitive and available construct models of relationships as gratifying and dependable and models of themselves as worthy of affection and attention. Children who are subject to insensitive and abusive caregiving view relationships as unpredictable, hostile, and frightening, and experience themselves as undeserving and alienated. With the onset of representational thought and language, during the second year of life, these working models become increasingly integrated and begin to characterize the toddler's general pattern of attachment. These internal working models, which contain both emotional and cognitive elements, subsequently govern how incoming interpersonal information is attended to and processed according to rules, directives, or organizing themes. Such working models are seen as conservative in that they resist dramatic change, probably because they have been fairly well established during the sensorimotor period and are unavailable for conscious cognitive recall and processing.

It has been found that compared to nonabused babies, who are more likely to have "secure attachments" with their mothers, abused infants tend to have "insecure attachments" in that they are ambivalent, avoidant, or disorganized in relationship with their mothers (George & Main, 1979). Young children characterized as avoidant or ambivalent with their primary caretakers as infants are later more aggressive, hostile, and unempathic in relationships with their peers, or else they remain isolated and withdrawn. Typically, those children who are disorganized as infants will later develop overly-responsible, solicitous, but somewhat controlling relationships with others (Main et al., 1985). The point is that there can be a range of diverse maladaptive outcomes of abuse within the domain of interpersonal relationships. From the viewpoint of attachment theory, Zeahan and Zeahan (1989) have proposed that it is the relationship context of the abuse or violence that is important, not the specific type of maltreatment. What are most likely to be transmitted across generations are the organizing themes in the parent-child relationship, such as rejection, fear, avoidance, or role reversal.

The internal working model of relationship as an explanatory mechanism for the intergenerational legacy of family violence is at present most clearly applicable to child abuse (Main & Goldwyn, 1984). It needs to be modified if it is also to explain the intergenerational effects of witnessing violence when the child is not directly involved in the abuse. Furthermore, attachment theorists tend to see the quality of later important relationships as basically emanating from that with the primary caregiver, usually the mother. Empirical observations of the cross-situational variability in relationships belies any such simple uniformity. We need to understand the conditions under which different working models of relationship are activated in other role relationships, as well as how these models can be transformed, in the light of new interpersonal experiences, by cognitive mediation, including therapy.

Activating Conditions for the Legacy of Family Violence

There has been little systematic theorizing about or empirical study of the conditions under which the intergenerational effects of family violence are likely to manifest themselves or are likely to be absent. If learning theory or modeling of aggression is the operant mechanism, then the effects should manifest as a general response to frustration and stressful events (e.g. interpersonal conflict, unemployment, financial hardship, illness). If learning is role-specific, then effects should be activated in response to entry into relevant new roles (e.g. adolescence, love relationships, courtship and marriage, birth of child, developmental changes in the child, retirement, and old age dependency).

If a stress and coping explanation is relevant, then the constellation or excess of external stressors (e.g. poverty) compared to buffers (e.g. social support) at any particular point in time can expose the individual's vulnerabilities (e.g. chemical dependency, biological disorders) and precipitate latent violent and abusive behavior (Lewis, Lovely, Yeager, & Femina, 1989). On the other hand, at each point and at the same time, the balance of personal, social, and material buffers (e.g. a supportive spouse, intelligence, wealth, religion) could be expected to protect the individual's vulnerabilities and prevent potential acts of family violence (Belsky, 1984; Egeland et al., 1988; Rutter, 1987).

If internal working models of attachment are the operant mechanism, then one possibility is that the activating condition is any relationship or situation that evokes the dominant theme or organizing principle that governed the early primary model of attachment (e.g. threat of abandonment, rejection, shame and humiliation, fear of being hurt or destroyed). A second possibility is that the individual's internal working model of attachment (including expectations, wishes, and fears of abuse) controls the mutual definition of the new relationship and induces the new partner to respond in an expected, violent manner.

A Theoretical Reformulation of the Problem

It is proposed that, despite the burgeoning literature, this body of research findings has been somewhat limited to date, due largely to the lack of an adequate theory to explain the diverse outcomes of family violence. Carefully formulated theories about the mechanisms for intergenerational transmission effects need to be put to test in a systematic program of research if knowledge in this field is to accrue. Empirically substantiated theories are also needed to guide the development of effective programs of preventive intervention and remediation.

The remainder of this paper proposes some elements of a new theoretical formulation of the problem, suggesting how specific violent and abusive experiences are processed and stored in memory for children of different ages, and how children's working models of relationship are shaped by parental conflict and expressions of hate, and reinforced by the experience of witnessing violence or receiving abuse. Some of the conditions that activate such experiences in later life, and in different relationship domains, will be delineated. The formulation will draw heavily for illustration upon our clinical experience and research with children of high-conflict and violent divorcing families, a subgroup of whom have been followed over a decade (Johnston, 1990, 1992; Johnston & Campbell, 1988; Johnston, Campbell, & Mayes, 1986).

A promising approach to understanding the mechanisms for the intergenerational transmission of severe family conflict and violence derives from converging formulations of social cognition, attachment, and object relations theories. These heretofore separate bodies of theory and research have recently begun to inform and enrich one another (e.g. Bretherton et al., in press; Westen, 1991). Social cognition researchers have provided the tools for an explanation of these mechanisms with the concept of internal event representations known as "scenes" and "scripts" (Schank, 1982; Schank & Abelson, 1977; Tomkins, 1978). Attachment theory has contributed the concept of working models of relationship (Main et al., 1985). Object relations theories have provided ideas about the vicissitudes of self-other (object) differentiation and the defenses that mediate it, from a developmental perspective (Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975; Kohut, 1977; Kohut & Wolf, 1978).

According to Tomkins (1978), a "scene" is essentially the individual's private encoding of a happening (including persons, time, place, actions, and emotions) to which the individual was a participant or a witness. Scenes are specific and concrete, and largely made up of sensory experiences--auditory, kinesthetic, visual images, touch, smell--together with affective arousal. Scenes can be simple, transient events that remain unconnected to one another, or they can be connected by a repetitive sequencing of events. When scenes are interconnected they then become an anticipated sequence of happenings governed by a "script." The script functions as the individual's rules for predicting, interpreting, responding to, and controlling those experiences that comprise a cluster of related scenes. The idea is that we store a great deal of complex information about the world in these scripts, or generalized event representations. Many of them are essentially routine and, for our purposes, carry no particular clinical significance.

Most important, however, are those "nuclear scenes," which capture an individual's most urgent and unsolved needs--for security, protection, sustenance, warmth--and which often have to do with primary attachment figures (Carlson, 1981). It is proposed that "nuclear scripts," which are derived from nuclear scenes, are likely to form the guidelines or blueprints for significant relationships, such as mother-child, father-child, sibling, and spousal relationships. In other words, they contribute to the child's internal working models of family relationships. Nuclear scenes are especially subject to psychological magnification, defined as the co-assembly of affect-laden scenes recruited together in the service of need fulfillment. It is primarily the affective quality of the nuclear scene that determines how extensive its influence will be, via psychological magnification, in organizing and shaping the individual's script and subsequent interpersonal actions. The affective quality of the nuclear scene includes its intensity and whether it is basically positive or negative in valence.

Somewhat different principles are involved in the psychological magnification of scenes and scripts that are dominated by positive compared to negative affect. Positive scenes are most often magnified by the production of variants; that is, the individual who has previously been gratified by a particular scene tends to innovate by producing variations on the theme inherent within the script. (A baby who receives a rewarding response from the mother for cooing is encouraged to experiment with other kinds of vocalization.) Negative scenes tend to be magnified by the formation of analogs, that is, the vigilant detection of analogies or similarities as new scenes are scanned for old dangers and previous disappointments. (A toddler who has learned to associate white uniforms with immunization shots cries when a white-uniformed waitress approaches.) It is for these reasons that scripts derived from negative nuclear scenes generate more constriction and rigid defensive/coping responses. Individuals who have experienced particularly negative scenes tend to recruit more and more previously unrelated scenes into the formation and maintenance of the negative script, simplifying their perception of the world and consuming their attention and energy.

A single traumatic incident, or repeated incidents, of severe family conflict and violence, including direct child abuse, are likely to constitute highly arousing, negative nuclear scenes in that they tend to threaten fundamental security and need fulfillment in primary relationships. As such, they are seen as generating or contributing to the formation of negative nuclear scripts. The unrepressed memories of a traumatic scene are usually specific, concrete, and vividly sensory (Terr, 1990). (For example, a boy has a series of visual and auditory images: father crashing through the door, the smell of alcohol, loud angry voices, contorted angry faces, father stomping on mother who is flailing on the floor, mother crying, mother's face bleeding, himself frozen in the doorway watching, the police arriving, the police arresting father, the police forbidding him to hug his dad good-bye.)

Such experiences are not abstracted by verbal or symbolic encoding until they are translated into language, i.e., talked about with another or with oneself. Nuclear scenes are therefore likely to be essentially private, idiosyncratic, and often not easily available for cognitive processing. If the child was an infant when the event was experienced, it may never be available for cognitive recall but could continue to manifest itself in dreams and other primary process thinking. (For example, a 12-year-old girl recalled a repeated dream from which she invariably woke up crying. It was of two disembodied voices shouting, at first faintly, from a distance, and then increasing in volume and proximity to a deafening roar. At the age of two, this child had been witness to the scene when her father discovered her mother with a lover.)

The script that is produced from a traumatic scene depends upon a number of factors, foremost being the child's limited perceptual opportunities and cognitive capacities. For instance, the child may view or overhear the climax of a scene taking place in another room, or may hear scuffling and come running into the room when the fight is still well underway. He or she may hear the screaming or the thumps only through the bedroom walls, or overhear the angry accusations in half of a telephone conversation. Depending upon the child's age, he or she may or may not recognize the symbols of danger inherent in the scene. (An 8-year-old became terrified when his father lowered his voice to a menacing whisper and smiled sadistically, because it triggered a script of imminent attack; whereas his 3-year-old brother was oblivious to the threat and even laughed, thinking father was playing a game when he picked up the baseball bat.)

There are some interesting clinical reports that the script may also be partly determined by the developmental issues with which the child is currently dealing. A 2-year-old with expectable separation anxieties, who witnesses his father hit his mother, may be most concerned about the emotional abandonment and unavailability of his mother, whereas the oedipal child directs his attention to his father's wrath, which is seen as a potentially revengeful attack upon him for his own sexual fantasies about his mother. A latency boy's attention may be captured by the exercise of power and control by the aggressive father and the induction of submission in the victim mother. For the toddler, the script that is developed is more likely to have a theme of separation and abandonment. For the oedipal child, the script will be about competition and revenge. For the latency child, the script may pit mastery and control against inferiority and helplessness. Interestingly, there are some indications from the longitudinal observations of Terr (1987) that these primary traumatic scenes can be reworked in the child's memory so that, over time, the script becomes imbued with new developmental themes as the child's central concerns shift.

The child's cognitive capacity for perspective-taking may also influence the script that is formed (Flavell, Fry, Wright, & Jarvis, 1968; Selman, 1980). A preschool child with an egocentric perspective and intuitive logic may form primitive scripts based on magical thinking, with the notion of causation by physical proximity. (A 5-year-old explained that she was magic, "cos when I come in the room, my mom and dad stop fighting." She went on to explain, "When I go to bed, I leave my magic by the door and it stops them fighting in the night!") An early-latency child with a capacity for unilateral perspective-taking will typically experience incidents of conflict from only one parent's point of view and will then develop scripts that involve simple, concrete, one-way relations. ("My mom is mean, she yelled at my dad and he was sad. I make him happy!") A middle latency child with a capacity for bilateral perspective-taking views the scene in a more complex way. ("My dad hurt my Mom's feelings. He said she was fat. She yelled at him and called him bad words. Then he hit her. After, I talked to her and she feels better.") This child has developed a more complex script that involves a chain or sequence of concrete bilateral interactions. An adolescent with third-person perspective capability might recall the same scene with more detachment. ("My parents are always cursing each other and calling each other bad names, and then they start hitting. If they've been drinking, there's not much I can do. I just leave.") This child's script is more abstract and general and involves a transaction between the family group members.

Clinical observation and research indicates that some children seem, at times, to identify with (or take the perspective of) the aggressor, while at other times, they identify with or take the perspective of the victim of abuse. Other children appear to identify with neither the perpetrator nor the victim of aggression. The particular outcome in this respect might be explained by a combination of the current developmental issues and the perspective-taking capacities the child had when the script was initially formed. This kind of explanation fits the data better than a simple hypothesis about the child identifying with the parent of the same gender.

The kinds of scripts that are developed from violent scenes depend very much upon their immediate outcome, including the way in which they are subsequently handled by the child and his caretakers. Typical initial responses to acutely threatening scenes, especially ones that are novel and unexpected, are freezing, flight, or fight. With younger children, freezing is most common, followed by signs of immediate distress (crying and clinging). If these responses lead to actions that relieve the child's immediate anxiety, they are likely to be reinforced and become part of the script. (One boy typically hyperventilated in response to his mother's screaming tirades, which immediately quieted her and induced her solicitous concern for him.) Other, more complex cognitive defenses may be used, including dissociation, denial, repression, and splitting. (One little girl typically curled up and went into a deep sleep whenever her father and mother started fighting over her. Subsequently, in altercations with her peers she was observed to become extremely passive, languid, almost somnolent. Another child who was a product of a bitterly feuding divorce appeared to block out the visual image of her beloved father and denied that she could see him whenever she happened to meet him on the street while in the presence of her angry mother.) Among children whose defenses and coping capacities are insufficient or barely adequate, typical post-traumatic symptoms such as hypervigilance, emotional constriction, pervasive anxiety, somatic symptoms, behavioral regression, phobic reactions, inability to concentrate, intrusive images, and nightmares are common responses, which are encorporated into the script. (Between the ages of 2 and 4 years, a boy witnessed many frightening scenes of his divorced parents fighting with one another. He would typically panic and cling to his mother, who would then hide and withhold him from his beloved father for a time. At age 6, this boy had developed a very pleasing, compliant style of relating. Whenever he felt angry towards his parents, however, he would become inexplicably clingy and often have an asthma attack. This implies a script that says, "If people are angry, they go away and leave me. To stop them, I must hold on and stop my own angry feelings.")

Other secondary coping responses can be developed, especially with older children. These include throwing oneself between the fighting parents; distracting them by being naughty, charming, or seductive; having an "accident"; actively avoiding the situation by retreating from the scene; and different kinds of role reversal, such as taking care of the siblings or performing special chores and services for the distressed parent. Once these defenses and coping responses are part of the script, they can be quickly activated in response to the threat of repeated violent or abusive scenes. In fact, in highly vigilant children, they can be triggered by minimal cues, or enacted to preempt confrontation and conflict. These scripts increasingly limit the child's perceptions, interpretations, and responses to potentially conflictual or abusive situations, including those that occur outside the family--at school or with peers. (A 7-year-old who managed his own parents' frequent fighting was typically very controlling with his peers. When any minor dispute arose on the playground, he would interfere and "supervise," much to the resentment of his classmates.) Whereas nuclear scenes (in this case traumatic events) originally create the script (which involves expectations about relationships), later on, the script itself tends to guide the child's appraisal, emotions, and management of interpersonal events. The more negative the initial scene, the more often the child will perceive similarities in subsequent diverse situations and the more likely the familiar script will be activated. This could explain the extent to which the child's disturbance in perceptions, emotions, and conduct is confined to specific situations or relationships versus being generalized to multiple settings.

The principle of psychological magnification implies that different traumatic nuclear scenes are often conjoined, sometimes intermingled and confused with one another in memory, with the common denominator being the nuclear script that governs them. (A 6-year-old girl fell out of a tree and broke both her wrists while she was on vacation with her noncustodial father. He was a loving man who adored his daughter, but he was bitter and angry at his ex-wife. The child's mother was distraught when she heard about the accident and rushed to the father's house in a rage, to snatch the child back from the father's care. In the physical struggle that ensued between these divorced parents, in the child's presence, the father grabbed the mother's wrist and flung her away from him. She tumbled down the stairs and broke her arm. In recounting this incident in the initial counseling session, the child suddenly appeared to deviate from the topic and drew a picture of a crying baby, standing in water with a vest around its waist. When asked to describe the picture, the child recalled that when she was a baby (a toddler), her father had made her wear a life vest, despite her angry protests. Then, she had fallen over in the wading pool and was not able to right herself. She had feared she was going to drown. Here, the child appeared to have conjoined the three traumatic experiences: the pool incident, the tree accident, and the parental fight when her mother was injured. This child has a script of a father who seems to want to be protective and helpful, but who is likely to become angry and vengeful, even potentially lethal towards her and her mother. Because this child had also witnessed the father's regular vitriolic outbursts at the mother, this particular script was often reconfirmed.)

Sometimes, the original traumatic scenes have been completely dissociated or repressed, with only fragmented images or other sensory memories available for conscious recall. Children appear to react with indifference to these fragments which, though remaining ultra-clear in their memories, are also bland and commonplace. This has been referred to as "screen memory" in the psychoanalytic literature (Spear, 1990). There is also a tendency for these memory fragments to be compressed over time into a single "pseudo memory" that is activated in response to any new negative experience or trauma. In actuality they truly are linked, by virtue of the script that conjoins different traumatic scenes. (A mother was severely depressed, angry, and resentful about caring for her baby daughter during the first two years of the child's life. She harbored frightening fantasies of hurting or abandoning her child. Gradually, her depression eased. At seven years, the child suffered a ruptured appendix and was rushed to hospital for emergency surgery. She spent several uncomfortable days in hospital reacting poorly to the medical procedures, with her mother constantly by her side. Later, when she was ten years old, her parents separated. At this time, the girl was exposed to many highly conflictual scenes which involved her mother becoming uncontrollably angry and physically attacking the father. In the two years following the divorce, prominent among this girl's symptoms of anxiety and distress were frequent somatic complaints, especially pain in her left lower abdomen. She feared she was going to die, and became excessively dependent upon and unable to separate from her mother. In therapy, this girl was highly anxious and unable to talk about the divorce situation. She did, however, recall quite vividly, though with "la belle indifference," being in the hospital as well as other seemingly mundane scenes in a daycare center as a preschooler. These scenes were actually fragments of traumatic memories from times when she had been highly distressed about being left by her parents. This child has a script that involves fears of abandonment and destruction by the mother, which she tries to manage by retreating into somatic symptoms and clinging dependency, as this evokes her mother's caretaking response. It is interesting that this girl's script is evident in repetitive terrifying nightmares, in which the symbolism of the angry mother and an unsafe world are barely disguised.)

It is proposed that children's self-concept and self-esteem will be reflections of the parts they play in these nuclear scripts. A sense of pride, competence, efficacy, powerfulness, and responsibility can be the outcome for those who successfully forestall potential conflict and violence and manage interpersonal relationships. It is evident that a proportion of children from violent and abusive families survive and succeed quite well in becoming empathic and socially competent adults with good self-esteem. Unfortunately, many other children are not very successful in this endeavor. Three common outcomes are likely. First, to the extent that children attribute blame or responsibility to themselves in scripts that involve abusive or violent themes, the greater will be their sense of shame, guilt, and self-devaluation. Second, to the extent that children feel powerless, lacking in efficacy and control in the script, the greater will be their feelings of inadequacy and helplessness. Third, to the extent that children are directly abused by a parent or take the perspective and share the feelings of the hated or demeaned family member, the more likely they are to feel shame and a sense of badness in themselves. This can explain why children who have been the direct subject of chronic abuse often suffer the most negative effects evidenced by increased self-hatred, low self-efficacy, and depressive affect. Many severely abused children express suicidal ideation and exhibit self-destructive behaviors along with their aggressive acting-out. Such behavior represents a negative self-concept that corresponds with the directives of a generalized relationship script which calls for them to "destroy or be destroyed."

It appears that children can switch the role they play in the script, especially as they grow older and enter into new life phases such as adolescence, marriage, and parenthood. One possible explanation is that role relations involving family members of different positions or status become internal reciprocal working models of relationship, so that entering a new status implies that individual has the right to assume the complementary role. (A 10-year-old boy witnessed his drunken, jealous father beat up his mother on several occasions. Each time the boy tried to throw himself between his parents to protect his mother, he himself was hit, which made him feel small, helpless, and ashamed. This boy grew up with a seething rage at his father and made the conscious promise to himself that he would become a stronger, morally superior man. At age 17, the boy fell in love for the first time and quickly became intensely possessive of his girlfriend. Then, she broke off the relationship. Feeling powerless and shamed, he bought a gun and threatened to kill her.) As illustrated by this young man's experience, an alternative explanation for role switching is that it serves a defensive function to master feelings of powerlessness, vulnerability, and shame, when the individual is in a position to do so. Common examples are the frightened, helpless child who becomes the frightening, powerful parent, and the bad, shamed child who as an adult needs to see herself as perfectly good, highly competent, and deserving of praise.

Intolerable feelings and unacceptable aspects of the self (including anxiety, fearfulness, feelings of shame, blame, helplessness, and badness) appear to be heavily defended against in children of domestic violence. Among children who have achieved some degree of psychological separation and object constancy, this usually involves repression of these feelings from conscious awareness, (like the girl whose conscious life is bright, playful, and mostly good-humored, a facade which quickly breaks down under threat of stress, when she becomes tense, anxious, phobic, and depressed, with many nightmares and irrational fears). At earlier stages of psychic development, among children who have not attained psychological separation from parents, splitting is a common defense, i.e., the alternating manifestation of the good/competent, bad/helpless self in different settings, making for a fragmented, noncohesive sense of self (Kohut & Wolfe, 1978). (An example is an abused boy who is boastful, grandiose, and defiant at school and with peers, but constricted, robotic, self-flagellating, and defeated with his abusive parents. Another example is a poorly differentiated (psychologically unseparated) girl who depends excessively on others, especially her mother, for self-confirmation. When aligned with her mother, she feels she is perfect and becomes arrogant and preening. If her mother is the least bit irritated with her, of if the girl feels she is anything less than perfect, she fears she is becoming like her bad, violent father. This girl's efforts to repudiate her violent father were concretely manifested when she repeatedly shaved off one of her eyebrows that supposedly looked like her father's).

Whatever defenses are operant, large areas of the child's emotional experience and conscious memories of family conflict, violence, and abuse are often cognitively unavailable to the child, and a great deal of energy appears to be expended in keeping the anxiety-provoking and shame-inducing material hidden from conscious awareness. Many of these children are quite constricted; they have a limited repertoire of interpersonal and emotional responses, and a diminished capacity for fantasy and play. Specifically with respect to chronically abused children, Green (1984) has written that they appear to

> ...gradually increase their tolerance for painful affect with time. The intensity of their initial feelings of annihilation, abandonment and feelings of helplessness are eventually dampened by constriction of affect. These children describe frightening details of their battering in a bland and detailed manner. They smile as they recount specific memories of their beatings. Defenses of denial, isolation and constriction of affect offer them further protection from these traumatic memories. (p.399)

The ability to use language to talk about their inner experience and feelings is usually quite limited among children of family violence, regardless of age. Though the scripts that govern their relationships with others are seldom articulated, they can, however, be inferred from repeated observations of their interactions with parents and peers, as well as from informal clinical projective techniques, including sandtray play, story telling, art work, and formal assessments tools like the Rorschach and the TAT. Scripts can be discerned from children's play, once the child has developed the capacity for representational and symbolic play. The child's ability to use language to decode the nuclear scenes comes at a much later age, typically not before four years, and even then the verbal account the child gives is usually extremely confused and difficult to decipher (Johnston & Campbell, 1988; Terr, 1988).

Changes in Scripts and Social Processing

As described above, scenes and scripts are sensori-experiential memories that are essentially private and idiosyncratic, not easily available for translation into representational thought and language. Moreover, with respect to the kinds of traumatic scenes of family violence and abuse which are likely to contribute to nuclear scripts, related painful experiences are more likely to be defensively perceived and warded off. It is also quite common for family members never to have talked about what happened. Sometimes, parents are particularly ashamed of the violent incident, or believe they are protecting their children by avoiding talking about it.

It is well known that traumatic scenes of violence experienced by the child can be processed through repetitive play, dreams, or some kind of acting-out behavior (Pynoos & Eth, 1986; Terr, 1990). Indeed, there appears to be a compulsion to do so, which is thought to be related to the individual's need to assimilate and master the experience (Horowitz, 1988). Our observations are that, whereas some children are able to use fantasy and play to rework and master highly conflictual and violent family scenes, for others the play itself evokes dangerous and threatening feelings. When such themes come up, some children become constricted and are unable to proceed with the play; others get caught up in a dramatic compulsive reenactment that has no ending, no solution, and no relief; while still others become emotionally overwhelmed, behaviorally regressed, and disorganized (Johnston & Campbell, 1988). Negative scenes and scripts can also be processed in language through emotional abreaction, cognitive reasoning, and discussion of the events, as, for example, in therapy. In this way, there is the potential for scripts to be reworked and changed.

There are dangers, however, when memories are shifted to the level of language. The scene then is transformed into "a story" that the child tells. Usually, the construction of a story is heavily influenced by its intended or actual audience. The verbal account the child gives tends to be a conscious solidification of an external view of the world that is not necessarily closely connected with the child's internal experience. In recounting the story, if the child's language is halting, heavily descriptive with visual, auditory, kinesthetic, and spatial images, and replete with physical gestures, then the story is more likely to correspond to the child's internal experience. When children talk about a violent or abusive scene glibly, factually, without expectable emotional affect, and when they sound like they are parroting a parent, using terms and phrases that are not common to their idiom, the internal experience is less likely to be connected to the verbal account. The story becomes "a legend," if the child has no real memory of the actual event but has heard it told by someone else, or has told an embellished version of the story so many times that it has entirely replaced the original scene or script in the child's conscious memory. Even so, the original script, which may belie the more insightful and rational verbal account, continues to govern the child's perceptions and behavior.

In the well-functioning family, the child's sense of social reality and morality about relationships is paradoxically structured and reinforced by the day-to-day minor and major violations of the moral order (Berger, 1988). Everyday sibling squabbles and expectable marital and parent-child conflicts about who did what to whom, what is fair, right, proper, and just, and what is unfair, wrong, improper, and unjust, all help to establish the moral order of human relationships. The family ritual of calling upon offending members to account for failing to live up to expectations or for violating one another's integrity, usually leads to the exchange of excuses and justifications that may or may not be honored by the audience of witnesses, the other family members. The process of clarifying rules of conduct and exchanging apologies and promises for the future, of prescribing punishments and behavioral consequences, not only repairs the breached relationships, it also cements the moral foundations for the child's developing conscience. In the microcosm of millions of families, the child is a daily witness to the administration of justice and the treatment of offenders, which in turn contributes to the moral injunctions in the scripts the child forms.

In families where there is unresolved hatred, repetitive conflict, and episodic violence, this normative process of establishing the moral order of relationships is derailed and there remain many inconsistencies in the moral imperatives that should guide the child's perceptions and conduct. There is evidence that it is not conflict itself that is harmful to children, but rather how it is managed and how it is resolved (Camara & Resnick, 1988; Cummings, Pellegrine et al., 1989). When children have witnessed or experienced violence and abuse, even if the parents do talk about the incidents, the children may be exposed to vastly contradictory views and interpretations of what happened, including opposing projections of blame, refusal to accept responsibility, denial, and defensive distortion of the incident. All of this greatly affects the children's emerging capacity for reality testing and sense of morality, leaving them with confused and distorted views about what happened, who did what to whom, who was to blame, what rules were violated, what is right and wrong, and what kind of restitution is fair and proper.

Intervention Implications

Social programs and social policy on behalf of children who have been witness to domestic violence, and even interventions for children who have been directly abused, are scarce. Moreover, systematic study of outcomes of intervention is virtually absent (with the exception of Alessi and Hearn [1984] and Jaffe, Wilson, and Wolfe [1986]). This state of affairs is largely a reflection of the fact that professional concern has only recently acknowledged the immediate and long-term negative sequelae of living in a violent home.

Methods of intervening with children who have been acutely traumatized by witnessing a single incident of severe violence (e.g. murder or rape) have been developed by Pynoos and Eth (1986). This finely-honed clinical intervention, usually administered in one interview, is based on crisis theory, which proposes the need to reexperience and work through a traumatic incident to alleviate disabling symptoms of post-traumatic stress and prevent consolidation of inappropriate coping responses. The method appears to be an effective way of intervening directly in the formation of negative scripts that are likely to develop from acutely traumatic scenes. It is not, however, designed to redress the damaging experience of living with ongoing high conflict and violence perpetrated by primary caretakers to whom the child is attached.

Group treatment for children who witness violence between parents appears to be developing primarily as an adjunct to services for battered women in shelters (Alessi & Hearn, 1984; Grusznski, Brink, & Edleson, 1988; Hughes, 1986; Jaffe et al., 1986). The theoretical rationale for these groups derives from learning and coping theories. Using a combined educational-experiential method, the group leaders help children deal with feelings (especially anger), develop self-protection skills, learn non-violent approaches to conflict resolution, examine gender roles and stereotypes, and develop self-competence and self-esteem.

Groups appear to be not only cost effective but are an important way of providing children the support of their peers, socializing them into nonviolent values, and teaching them social skills. It is not known, however, to what extent educational methods can access the deeply embedded scripts of family relationships that guide these children's perceptions, prompt their distrust of others, and result in difficulties with interpersonal relationships. It may also be problematic that battered women's shelters which sponsor these groups generally employ a feminist perspective and are geared primarily to taking care of the victim woman's immediate crisis and needs. Violent men are often not served. Neither mothers' nor fathers' difficulties in relationship with their children are centrally addressed. In these settings, there is little opportunity to deal with the longer-term developmental consequences of violence for children in the context of their family, in so far as children are likely to continue to have a relationship with both the violent and the victim parent, whether the family remains intact or the parents separate and divorce (Johnston, 1992).

A family therapy approach based on family systems and learning theory has been advocated by others (Elbow, 1982; Gelles & Maynard, 1987; Gentry & Eddy, 1980). Both parents and their children are included in counseling which aims to restructure the family as a functioning group, because parents in violent and dysfunctional marriages are often unable to meet the developmental needs of their children, which results in inappropriate and blurred generational boundaries and role reversals. Helping parents protect their children from the adults' conflicts, increasing parental authority and coparental cooperation, and teaching communication and parenting skills are usually the focus of these interventions tailored to the individual needs of the family. The problems are that family therapy is not affordable for many stress-prone low-income families, and that often family relationships are so fragmented by conflict, disruption, or divorce that parents cannot cooperate sufficiently to participate in the family therapy they need. It is also not clear how effectively family-centered counseling can help a child with peer relationship problems, if the damage done by family violence has spilled over into this domain.

The challenge in building intervention programs for children of domestic violence is to conserve the valuable elements of each of the above approaches while avoiding their limitations or pitfalls, and to build programs on the most adequate formulations of precisely how and in what domains children are negatively impacted, and how they are developmentally most amenable to help. Furthermore, in considering where to place services for families prone to violence, it is practical to consider making them easily accessible to a wide range of families in neighborhoods suffering from high levels of stress due to poverty, unemployment, low socioeconomic status, and marginal or minority ethnic status. Rather than insist that the fragmented, abusive family take sole responsibility for the problem of violence, the goal should be to equip alternative child-rearing institutions (schools, day-care centers, churches, community recreation centers, etc.) to support and strengthen family functioning. Hence the general focus for prevention and intervention should be on building and strengthening a sense of neighborhood and community concern for children that is an alternative or an adjunct to the caring and moral guidance expected to be provided within families. In setting up any service delivery system, the community needs to be given the opportunity to formulate its own priorities, and culturally distinct people need to develop and run their own programs. For this reason, there are many different kinds of programs possible.

One kind of a program to prevent and ameliorate the effects of family violence could be targetted for latency-aged and early adolescent children. For children of this age, "a structured peer group provides a developmentally appropriate context within which to reality test feelings, perceptions and fantasies, to reconstruct a distorted moral code and to develop an understanding of self and other in psychological terms, so that mastery and appropriate distance can be achieved" (Roseby, 1992, p.1). Moreover, in bringing the latency child's new cognitive capacities to bear on the problems of understanding everyday social and family dilemmas, a sense of organization and mastery becomes possible. It is proposed that groups could be provided within local after-school childcare and recreation centers. Just as it is important to have sporting and athletic programs available, as well as art and drama classes, for children in the local neighborhood, it is also important and feasible to have human relations groups in which children have the opportunity to explore, develop, and repair their interpersonal relationship capacities, and to reorder and cement the moral grounds for their social relations.

The essential features of these groups are as follows: First, there needs to be different levels of curriculum for the groups, appropriate to the cognitive development of children of different ages. Early latency, late latency and early adolescent groups have been useful divisions because social-cognitive, perspective-taking capacities usually differ among these groupings (Flavell et al., 1968; Selman, 1980). Second, the groups should be essentially experiential, not based primarily on verbal discussion and formal didactic learning, but upon dramatic play, projective artwork, and storytelling, in which peer group, school, neighborhood, and family conflicts are reenacted, processed, and reworked. The goal here is to uncover the nuclear scripts that govern children's working models of man-woman, parent-child, sibling, and peer relationships; to develop children's capacities to identify and experience a wider range of feelings (including negative ones like fear, anger, and shame), and to help children think and talk about how their perspective differs from others. Learning to feel how others feel and how to see things from another's perspective are the essential steps for the development of empathy, which is a natural precursor to moral behavior. Because children are encouraged to reenact actual conflictual scenes in a supportive, safe environment, including ones where violence has been perpetrated, there is opportunity to reexperience and work through acutely traumatic incidents that could be the basis for negative script formation and symptomatic behavior.

A group setting is particularly effective if children are to rework infractions of the moral order among their own, everyday family and peer relations, and in so doing develop and reaffirm principles or rules for how people ought to be treated and how one should treat others. The groups need to be fun, and they should be held in warm, loving, supportive, environments that foster a sense of belonging, personal self-worth, and respect in children and between children and staff. It is proposed that within this kind of milieu new problem-solving or conflict-resolution strategies and social skills can be more easily learned and incoporated into the child's repertoir of coping. A specific curriculum for such groups has been developed (at the Center for the

Family in Transition, Corte Madera) for high conflict and violent divorcing families (Roseby, 1982), which could fairly easily be modified for intact and cohabiting families, provided that appropriate ethnic content isencorporated to make it applicable to particular populations.

It would be most effective if the groups were led by older teenagers, high school and college students, of the same ethnic identity and similar neighborhood origin, who could become mentors or role models for the younger children. Attractive older sibling-like figures are important also in order to imbue participation in the groups with status and prestige. The staff of the child-care or receation centers (teachers, coaches, supervisors) need to be familiar and comfortable with the language of respect and caring and the methods of conflict resolution, in order for them to be responsive to the children's feelings and ideas outside of the group. This could provide for a continuity of the experience of interpersonal understanding and moral development in naturally occuring social conflicts.

Finally, parent participation in the groups is essential in a number of different ways. First, in determining the content of the curriculum for these groups, parents who are interested, representative members of the community need to make sure that family, cultural, and religious values are appropriately portrayed in the groups. Regular parent group meetings (e.g. in the form of potlucks after work or on weekends) could also provide parents with feedback about their children's individual progress and needs, and give parents the opportunity to increase their parenting skills and better their understanding of children's development. Parent groups could provide social support among the community of adults, particularly those that are stressed by single head-of-household status, family dysfunction, economic hardship, language difficulties, or social-cultural isolation.

Services for child witnesses to domestic violence raise a number of complicated social policy issues. In particular, they highlight the schism betweem programs/services for battered women and those for abused children (Cummings & Mooney, 1988). As indicated above, professionals working with spouse battering and child abuse often have divergent goals, perspectives, and strategies. Shelter-based programs for battered women are premised on a model of family violence in which the male is the perpetrator and the woman is the victim; they are typically concerned with issues of protection, support, and empowerment for their adult female clients. The presence of child abuse, the needs of child victims and witnesses, and family-centered treatment approaches are rarely promoted. Child abuse and child welfare systems, on the other hand, focus on the needs of children and may be less sensitive to indicators of wife battering. The prevailing model of intervention stresses family-centered support and treatment to prevent recurrence of direct child abuse and/or removal of children from the home.

Despite identical concerns with stopping and preventing family violence, and largely overlapping populations of families, professionals and programs in these two systems are often quite isolated from one another. In particular, there is a need for systematic inter-agency coordination, and increased cross-training, to improve the knowledge and sensitivity of both advocates for battered women and child protective service workers. This is necessary in order to sensitize professionals in both fields to the degree of risk these children experience.

A second area for policy development concerns the laws and procedures within family courts that govern custody and visitation of children following separation and divorce, in families where there has been domestic violence (Walker & Edwall, 1987). Under what conditions should children be given frequent visitation when one or both parents have been physically abusive to the other spouse? When should visitation with a violent parent be restricted, supervised, or even suspended? When are joint legal and joint physical custody appropriate? To what extent are divorcing women at increased risk for continued physical abuse when their children have frequent access to the violent parent? The answers to these legal questions depend partly on more basic psychological issues about the extent to which these children are at risk, and precisely how, when, and under what conditions they are vulnerable. The policy dilemma involves the contradiction between the family court's mandate to consider the "best interests of the child" and the victim women's civil right to protection from fear and harrassment. These questions have motivated a recent preliminary study of high conflict and violent divorcing families disputing custody, from which guidelines for the resolution of disputed custody and visitation issues have been proposed (Johnston, 1992). Much more work remains to be done in this area.

Conclusion

In summary, the review of this growing body of literature on the intergenerational legacy of violence began on a somewhat optimistic note, as it appears that the transmission of actual violence and abuse is not as extensive as was previously believed. This does not mean, however, that a large number of children and young adults go unscathed. There is mounting concern that beyond the transmission of aggression, the legacy of family violence and hate gives rise to multiple and diverse problematic outcomes, the most serious of which is damage or distortion to the growing child's capacity to form and sustain mutually satisfying, moral, and empathic interpersonal and intimate relationships. Acute incidents of family conflict, violence, and abuse are often critical events for the developing child. They can crystalize and telescope essential patterns in the child's models of significant relationships, forming indelible metaphors in memory. These metaphors, called scripts, guide the child's subsequent relationships with similar others and represent the internal nexus of the child to his or her social world.

Prevention and remediation of the potentially long-term consequences of family violence for children needs to begin early, as soon after the trauma as possible. Family and peer group programs should provide for the experiential reenactment and reworking of key scripts that govern children's working models of family and peer relationships. This involves increasing children's capacity to identify their own feelings and perceptions and to differentiate them from others'; modeling effective conflict resolution strategies and social skills; and building and repairing children's sense of a just and humane moral order.

Reference List

Achenbach, T. M., & Edelbrock, C. S. (1983). *Manual for the child behavior checklist and revised child behavioral profile*. NY: Queen City.

Alessi, J. J., & Hearn, K. (1984). Group treatment of children in shelters for battered women. In A. R. Roberts (Ed.), *Battered women and their families: Intervention strategies and treatment programs* (pp. 46-61). New York: Springer.

Alfara, J. (1981). Report on the relationship between child abuse and neglect and later socially deviant behavior. In R. J. Hunter, & Y. E. Walker (Eds.), *Exploring the relationship between child abuse and delinquency* (pp. 175-219). Montclair, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun.

Bard, M. (1970). Role of law enforcement in the helping system. In J. Monahan (Ed.), *Community mental health and the criminal justice system* (pp. 99-109). Elmsford, NJ: Pergamon Press.

Bardenstein, K., Roseby, V., Johnston, J. R., & Erdberg, P. (1992, March). The *Rorschach analysis of children of severely conflicted and violent divorced families*. Paper presented at the Midwinter Meeting of the Society for Personality Assessment, Washington, D.C.

Belsky, J. (1984). The determinants of parenting: A process model. *Child Development*, *55*, 83-96.

Berger, J. (1988). Directions in expectation states research. In M. Webster, Jr., & M. Foschi (Eds.), *Status generalization: New theory and research* (pp. 450-476). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bernard, M. L., & Bernard, J. L. (1983). Violent intimacy: The family as a model for love relationships. *Family Relations*, *32*, 283-286.

Block, J. H., Block, J., & Gjerde, P. F. (1986). The personality of children prior to divorce. *Child Development*, *57*, 827-840.

Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss, vol. 1: Attachment*. New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and loss, vol. 2: Separation*. New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1980). *Attachment and loss, vol. 3: Loss, sadness & depression*. New York: Basic Books.

Bretherton, I., Ridgeway, D., & Cassidy, J. (in press). The role of internal working models in the attachment relationship. In M. Greenberg, D. Cicchetti, & E. M. Cummings (Eds.), *Attachment during the preschool years: Theory, research & intervention*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Camara, K. A., & Resnick, G. (1988). Interparental conflict and cooperation: Factors moderating children's post-divorce adjustment. In E. M. Hetherington & J. Arasteh (Eds.). *The impact of divorce, single-parenting and step-parenting on children* (pp. 169-196). Hillsdale, NJ: Laurence Earlbaum Associates.

Cappell, C., & Heiner, R. B. (1990). The intergenerational transmission of family aggression. *Journal of Family Violence*, *5*, 135-152.

Carlson, B. E. (1990). Adolescent observers of marital violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, *5*, 285-299.

Carlson, B. E. (1984). Children's observations of interparental violence. In A. R. Roberts (Ed.), *Battered women and their families* (pp. 147-167). New York: Springer.

Carlson, R. (1981). Studies in script theory: 1. Adult analogs of a childhood nuclear scene. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *40*, 501-510.

Caspi, A., & Elder, G. H. (1988). Emergent family patterns: The intergenerational construction of problem behavior and relationships. In R. Hinde & J. Stevenson-Hinde (Eds.), *Understanding family dynamics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cherlin, A. J., Furstenberg, Jr., F. F., Chase-Lansdale, P. L., Kiernan, K. E., Robins, P. K., Morrison, D. R., & Teitler, J. O. (1991). Longitudinal studies of effects of divorce on children in Great Britain and the United States. *Science*, *252*, 1386-1389.

Christopoulos, C., Cohn, D., Shaw, D., Joyce, S., Sullivan-Hanson, J., Kraft, S., & Emery, R. (1987). Children of abused women: I. Adjustment at time of shelter residence, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *49*, 611-619.

Cicchetti, D., & Aber, L. A. (1980). Abused children - abusive parents: An overstated case? *Harvard Educational Review*, *50*, 244-255.

Cummings, E. M., & Cummings, J. S. (1988). A process-oriented approach to children's coping with adults' angry behavior. *Developmental Review*, *8*, 296-321.

Cummings, E. M., Vogel, D., Cummings, J. S., & El-Sheikh, M., (1989). Children's responses to different forms of expression of anger between adults. *Child Development*, *60*, 1392-1404.

Cummings, J. S., Pellegrine, D. S., Notarius, C. I., & Cummings, E. M. (1989). Children's responses to angry adult behavior as a function of marital distress and history of interparental hostility. *Child Development*, *60*, 1035-1043.

Cummings, N., & Mooney, A. (1988). Child protective workers and battered women's advocates: A strategy for family violence intervention. *Response*, *11*, 4-9.

Depner, C. E., Cannata, K. V., & Simon, M. B. (1992). Building a uniform statistical reporting system: A snapshot of California Family Court Services. Family & Conciliation Courts Review, 30, 185-206.

Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., & Petit, G. S. (1990). Mechanisms in the cycle of violence. Science, 250, 1678-1683.

Dodge, K. A., & Somberg, D. R. (1987). Hostile attributional biases among aggressive boys are exacerbated under conditions of threat to the self. Child Development, 58, 213-224.

Egeland, B., Jacobvitz, D., & Papatola, K. (1987). Intergenerational continuity of parental abuse. In J. Lancaster, & R. Gelles (Eds.), Biosocial aspects of child abuse. New York: Jossey Bass.

Egeland, B., Jacobvitz, D., & Sroufe, L. A. (1988). Breaking the cycle of abuse. Child Development, 59, 1080-1088.

Elbow, M. (1982). Children of violent marriages: The forgotten victims. Social Casework, 63, 465-471.

Emery, R. E. (1982). Children of parental discord & divorce. Psychological Bulletin, 92, 310-330.

Emery, R. E. (1989). Family violence. American Psychologist, 44, 321-328.

Fantuzzo, J. W., & Lindquist, C. U. (1989). The effects of observing conjugal violence on children: A review and analysis of research methodology. Journal of Family Violence, 4, 77-94.

Finkelhor, D., & Korbin, J. (1988). Child abuse as an international issue. Child Abuse & Neglect, 12, 3-23.

Flavell, J. H., Fry, C., Wright, J., & Jarvis, P. (1968). The development of role-taking and communication skills in children. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Forsstrom-Cohen, B., & Rosenbaum, A. (1985). The effects of parental marital violence on young adults: An exploratory investigation. Journal of Marriage & the Family, 47, 467-472.

Gayford, J. J. (1975). Wife battering: A preliminary survey of 100 cases. British Medical Journal, 1, 194-197.

Gelles, R. J., & Maynard, P. E. (1987). A structural family systems approach to intervention in cases of family violence. Family Relations, 36, 270-275.

Gentry, C. E., & Eaddy, V. B. (1980). Treatment of children in spouse abusive families. Victimology, 5, 240-250.

Gil, D. (1973). Violence aginst children: Physical abuse in the United States. Cambridge, MA: Howard University Press.

Giles-Sims, J. (1983). Wife battering: A system's theory approach. New York: Guilford Press.

Gladston, R. (1965). Observations on children who have been physically abused and their parents. American Journal of Psychiatry, 122, 440-443.

Glueck, S., & Glueck, E. (1950). Unravelling juvenile delinquency. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

George, C., & Main, M. (1979). Social interactions of young abused children: Approach, avoidance and aggression. Child Development, 50, 306-318.

Green, A. H. (1984). Generational transmission of violence in child abuse. International Journal of Family Psychiatry, 6, 389-403.

Green, A. H., Gaines, R., & Sangrum, A. (1974). Child abuse: Pathological syndrome of family interaction. American Journal of Psychiatry, 131, 882-886.

Groisser, D. (1986). Child witness to interparental violence: Social problem solving skills and behavior adjustment. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

Grusznski, R. J., Brink, J. C., & Edleson, J. L. (1988). Support and education groups for children of battered women. Child Welfare, 67, 431-444.

Grych, J. H., & Fincham, F. D. (1990). Marital conflict and children's adjustment: A cognitive-contextual framework. Psychological Bulletin, 108, 267-290.

Herrenkohl, E. C., Herrenkohl, R. C., & Toedter, L. J. (1983). Perspectives on the intergenerational transmission of abuse. In D. Finkelhor, R. J. Gelles, G. T. Hotaling, & M. A. Straus (Eds.), The dark side of families: Current family violence research (pp. 305-316). Beverly Hills: Sage Publishing Co.

Hershorn, M., & Rosenbaum, A. (1985). Children of marital violence: A closer look at the unintended victims. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 55, 260-266.

Herzberger, S. D. (1983). Social cognition and the transmission of abuse. In D. Finkelhor, R. J. Gelles, G. T. Hotaling, & M. A. Straus (Eds.), The dark side of families: Current family violence research (pp. 317-329). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing Co.

Horowitz, M. J. (1988). Introduction to psychodynamics: A synthesis. New York: Basic Books.

Hughes, H. H., Parkinson, D., & Vargo, H. (1989). Witnessing spouse abuse & experiencing physical abuse: A "double whammy"? Journal of Family Violence, 4, 197-209.

Hughes, H. M. (1986, August). Child-focused intervention in shelters. Paper presented at the 94th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D. C.

Hughes, H. M. (1988). Psychological and behavioral correlates of family violence in child witnesses and victims. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 58(1), 77-90.

Hughes, H. M., & Barad, S. J. (1983). Psychological functioning of children in a battered women's shelter: A preliminary investigation. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 53, 525-531.

Hunter, R., & Kilstrom, N. (1979). Breaking the cycle in abusive families. American Journal of Psychiatry, 136, 1320-1322.

Jaffe, P., Wilson, S., & Wolfe, D. A. (1986). Promoting changes in attitude and understanding of conflict resolution among child witnesses of family violence. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 18(4), 356-366.

Jaffe, P., Wolfe, D., & Wilson, S. (1990). Children of battered women. Developmental clinical psychology & psychiatry, vol. 21. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Jaffe, P., Wolfe, D., Wilson, S., & Zak, L. (1986a). Similarities in behavioral and social maladjustment among child victims and witnesses to family violence. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 56(1), 142-146.

Jaffe, P., Wolfe, D., Wilson, S., & Zak, L. (1986b). Family violence and child adjustment: A comparative analysis of girls' and boys' behavioral symptoms. American Journal of Psychiatry, 143(1), 74-77.

Johnston, J. R. (1992). High-conflict and violent divorcing families: Findings on children's adjustment and proposed guidelines for the resolution of disputed custody and visitation. Final report to the Judicial Council of the State of California (Grant #891826).

Johnston, J. R. (1990). Role diffusion & role reversal: Structural variations in divorced families and children's functioning. Family Relations, 39, 405-413.

Johnston, J. R., & Campbell, L. E. G. (1988). Impasses of divorce: The dynamics and resolution of family conflict. NY: The Free Press.

Johnston, J. R., Campbell, L. E. G., & Mayes, S. S. (1985). Latency children in post-separation and divorce disputes. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 24, 563-574.

Johnston, J. R., Gonzalez, R., & Campbell, L.E. G. (1987). Ongoing post-divorce conflict and child disturbance. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 15, 493-509.

Jouriles, E., Barling, J., & O'Leary, K. D. (1987). Predicting child behavior problems in maritally violent families. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 15(2), 165-173.

Kalmuss, D. (1984). The intergenerational transmission of marital aggression. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 46, 11-19.

Kaufman, J., & Zigler, E. (1987). Do abused children become abusive parents? American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 57, 186-192.

Kline, M., Johnston, J. R., & Tschann, J. M. (1991). The long shadow of marital conflict. Journal of Marriage and Family, 53, 297-309.

Kohut, H. (1977). The restoration of self. Madison, CT: International Universities Press.

Kohut, H., & Wolf, E. S. (1978). The disorders of self and their treatment. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 59, 413-424.

Layzer, J. I., Goodson, B. D., & DeLange, C. (1985). Children in shelters. Response, 9, 2-5.

Leighton, B. (1989). Spousal abuse in metropolitan Toronto. Research report on the response of the criminal justice system (Report No. 1989-02). Ottawa: Solicitor General of Canada.

Lewis, D. O., Lovely, R., Yeager, C., & Femina, D. D. (1989). Toward a theory of the genesis of violence: A follow-up study of juvenile delinquents. Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 28, 431-436.

MacEwen, K. E., & Barling, J. (1988). Midlife stressors, violence in the family of origin, and marital aggression: A longitudinal investigation. Journal of Family Violence, 3, 73-87.

Mahler, M. S., Pine, F., & Bergman, A. (1975). The psychological birth of the human infant. New York: Basic Books.

Main, M., & Goldwyn, R. (1984). Predicting rejection of her infant from mother's representation of her own experience: Implications for the abused-abusing intergenerational cycle. International Journal of Child Abuse & Neglect, 8, 203-207.

Main, M., Kaplan, N., & Cassidy, J. (1985). Security in infancy, childhood, and adulthood: A move to the level of representation. In I. Bretherton & E. Waters (Eds.), Growing points of attachment theory and research. Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development (Serial No. 209).

Malone, J., Tyree, A., & O'Leary, K. D. (1989). Generalization & Containment: Different effects of past aggression for wives and husbands. Journal of Marriage & the Family, 51, 687-697.

Owens, D., & Straus, M. (1975). Childhood aggression & adult approval of aggression. Aggressive Behavior, 1, 193-211.

Pagelow, M. D. (1984). Family violence. New York: Praeger.

Patterson, G. R., DeBaryshe, B. D., & Ramsey, E. (1989). A developmental perspective on antisocial behavior. American Psychologist, 44, 329-335.

Pynoos, R. S., & Eth, S. (1986). Witness to violence: The child interview. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 25, 306-319.

Quay, H. C., & Peterson, D. R. (1983). Interim manual for the revised behavior problems checklist. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami.

Roseby, V. (1992). Group treatment manual for children in high conflict and violent families. Unpublished report. Center for the Family in Transition, Corte Madera, CA.

Rosenbaum, A., & O'Leary, K. D. (1981). Children: The unintended victims of marital violence. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 51, 692-699.

Rosenberg, M. S. (1987). Children of battered women: The effects of witnessing violence on their social problem-solving abilities. Behavior Therapist, 4, 85-89.

Rosenberg, M. S., & Rossman, B. B. R. (1990). The child witness to marital violence. In R. T. Ammerman, & M. Hersen (Eds.), Treatment of family violence: A sourcebook (pp. 183-210). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Roy, M. (1977). Battered women: A psychological study of domestic violence. New York: Van Nostrand.

Rutter, M. (1987). Psychosocial resilience and protective mechanisms. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 57, 316-331.

Schank, R. C. (1982). Dynamic memory: A theory of reminding and learning in computers and people. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schank, R. C., & Abelson, R. P. (1977). Scripts, plans, goals & understanding. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Selman, R. L. (1980). The growth of interpersonal understanding. New York: Academic Press.

Shaw, D. S., & Emery, R. E. (1987). Parental conflict and other correlates of the adjustment of school-aged children whose parents have separated. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 15, 269-281.

Silver, L. R., Dublin, C. C., & Lowrie, R. S. (1969). Does violence breed violence? Contributions from the study of the child abuse syndrome. American Journal of Psychiatry, 126, 152-155.

Sinclair, D. (1985). Understanding wife assault: A training manual for counselors & advocates. Toronto: Ontario Government Bookstore.

Spinetta, J. J., & Rigler, D. (1972). The child abusing parent: A psychological review. Psychological Bulletin, 77, 296-304.

Spero, M. H. (1990). Portal aspects of memory overlay in psychoanalysis: An object relations contribution to screen memory phenomena. In A. J. Solnit, P. B. Neubauer, S. Abrams, & A. S. Dowling, The Psychoanalytic study of the child, vol. 45 (pp. 79-106). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Steele, B. F. (1986). Notes on the lasting effects of early child abuse throughout the life cycle. Child Abuse & Neglect, 10, 283-291.

Steele, B. J., & Pollack, C. B. (1968). A psychiatric study of parents who abuse infants and small children. In R. E. Helfer, & C. H. Vunpe (Eds.), The battered child (pp. 103-147). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Straus, M. A., & Gelles, R. J. (1988). Has family violence decreased? A reassessment of the Straus & Gelles Data. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 50, 281-291.

Straus, M., Gelles, R., & Steinmetz, S. (1980). Behind closed doors: Violence in the American family. Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday.

Terr, L. (1990). Too scared to cry. New York: Basic Books.

Terr, L. (1988). What happens to early memories of trauma: A study of twenty children under age five at the time of documented traumatic events. Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 27, 96-104.

Tomkins, S. S. (1978). Script theory: Differential magnification of affects. In H. E. Howe, Jr., & R. A. Dienstbier (Eds.), 1978 Nebraska symposium on motivation, vol. 26. University of Nebraska Press.

Tschann, J. M., Johnston, J. R., Kline, M., & Wallerstein, J. S. (1989). Family process and children's functioning during divorce. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51, 431-444.

Ulbrich, P., & Huber, J. (1981). Observing parental violence: Distribution and effects. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 43, 623-631.

Walker, L. E. A., & Edwall, G. E. (1987). Domestic violence and determination of visitation and custody in divorce. In D. J. Sonkin (Ed.), Domestic violence on trial: Psychological and legal dimensions of family values (pp. 127-152). New York: Springer.

Westen, D. (1991). Social cognition and object relations. Psychological Bulletin, 109, 429-455.

Widom, C.S. (1989). Does violence beget violence? A critical examination of the literature. Psychological Bulletin, 106, 3-28.

Wolfe, D. A. (1987). Child abuse: Implications for child development and psychopathology. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publishing.

Wolfe, D., Jaffe, P., Wilson, S., & Zak, L. (1985). Children of battered women: The relation of child behavior to family violence and maternal stress. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53, 657-665.

Wolfe, D., Zak, L., Wilson, S., & Jaffe, P. (1986). Child witnesses to violence between parents: Critical issues in behavioral and social adjustment. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 14(1), 95-104.

Zeanah, C. H., & Zeanah, P. D. (1989). Intergenerational transmission of maltreatment: Insights from attachment theory and research. Psychiatry, 52, 177-196.

VIOLENCE AND HATE IN THE FAMILY AND NEIGHBORHOOD: NEW PERSPECTIVES, POLICY AND PROGRAMS

Edited by
Janet R. Johnston Ph.D.

A project of the Zellerbach Family Fund